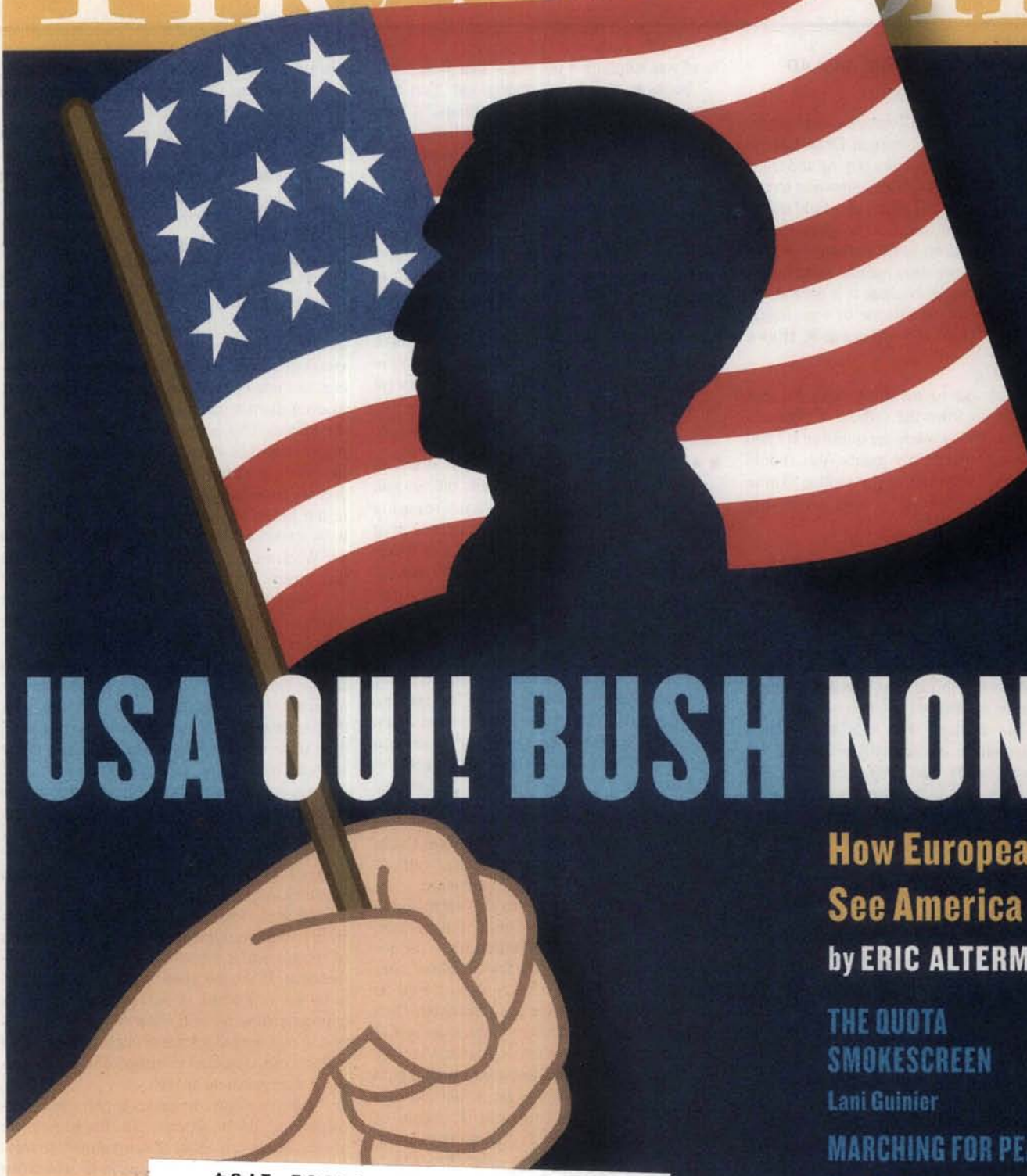


FEBRUARY 10, 2003

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The Nation.



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by **ERIC ALTERMAN**

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SMOKESCREEN**

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MARCHING FOR PEACE

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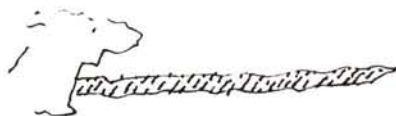
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LETTERS



R. O. BLECHMAN

AD NAUSEAM—THE 'DIME BAG' AD

Lakewood, Calif.

■ It was outrageous and disappointing to see the ad from the Office of National Drug Control Policy in *The Nation* equating buying and using marijuana (or any drugs) with supporting terrorism [Dec. 30; this issue]. That you would accept such a patently misleading, unbalanced and overly simplistic ad, an ad that attempts to draw a connection between drug use and terrorism, is astonishing, especially because it is contrary to the editorial content and theme of your magazine. Shame on you.

DONALD R. HODEL

Anchorage, Aka.

■ I know you like to stir things up a bit, but including an ad from the Office of National Drug Control Policy made me question if I had the right magazine in my hands. You should have added a disclaimer or the motto, "Think globally, smoke domestic."

SUSAN BRIGHT

Los Angeles

■ What's next? A Vatican-sponsored appeal to teenagers to "just say no" to sex?

CHRIS KIRSHBAUM

Bethesda, Md.

■ Does the Office of National Drug Control Policy seriously think that someone dumb enough to be influenced by their ad would be reading *The Nation*? The kids at my high school who smoke occasionally read *Jane*, the complete potheads read *High Times* and the idiots (at whom the ad is obviously aimed, even though they're surprisingly drug-free) read *National Review*.

SANDRA SCHACHAT

Madison, Wisc.

■ As someone who "buys a dime bag occasionally" I want to thank the antidrug.com folks for explaining the pot = terrorism connection. I didn't realize until I read this ad how black-and-white and simple the whole thing is.

But I thought, "Why not find out who these terrorists, whom I supported for so long, are?" So I called my drug dealer and invited her out for coffee, to confront her. She told me she sells "dime bags" to help pay for college and support her 8-year-old. But wait, there's more...

She doesn't grow the stuff herself. As she talked I saw how deep the rabbit hole goes. She then drove me to her ex-boyfriend's house. He grows the stuff, he's the source, the head terrorist operative. He showed me the plants. Almost twelve—"Enough to fund Al Qaeda for decades!" I thought. He said he's using the "dime bag" money to pay for his PhD in cultural anthropology. My God! Margaret Mead... pot smoking... communism... terrorism... My

head was spinning. I got out of that place fast.

So thank you. I now understand "that drug money contributes to terrible things." I have picked which side I'm on. Now I challenge all *Nation* readers who smoke "dime bags" to do as I have done—turn over a new leaf.

CHARLES MONROE-KANE

Durham, NC

■ I really don't care where your ad money comes from so long as *The Nation* continues to provide me with accurate, provocative information and opinion. But I would like to rebut the ad's message that if you buy illicit drugs, you're supporting terrorism. If you buy gasoline you're supporting terrorism. And on a far, far vaster scale.

JOHN BROWNER

Seattle

■ A slight rewording of "that ad": Is it OK to support terrorism if it's only a little bit? So you pay taxes occasionally. It's not like you're paying millions to finance a misguided national drug policy and all the death and destruction it creates. And you understand the argument: that tax money contributes to terrible things. That if you pay taxes, your money goes to people who are responsible for murder, bribery, intimidation and torture. That if you stopped paying taxes, the government would go away, the violence would end. You get all that. But it's just a few tax dollars, right? Well, here's a secret: You don't pick which side you're on by how many taxes you pay. You pick which side you're on by paying in the first place.

MATTHEW LANDKAMMER

Lancaster, Pa.

■ You may find of interest a message I sent to the private leadership list of drug-policy-reform and harm-reduction organizations:

"Fellow Reformers: I was also surprised to see the...ad in *The Nation*, but I applaud their publishing it. We...were thrilled when the socially conservative *Weekly Standard* and later *News Max* accepted our ads and offered us favorable rates. It enables us to bring our facts and opinions to the attention of those we would not otherwise be able to reach. And it is healthy for magazines of all persuasions to permit paid contrasting views. This is an indication of a shared value by left and right: Freedom of speech. Long may it last!"

ROBERT E. FIELD

Common Sense for Drug Policy

THE NATION REPLIES

New York City

■ Almost twenty-five years ago *Nation* editors—in consultation with our readers, our publisher and various well-wishers in the journalistic community—responding to reader com-

plaints about an advertisement for mink coats, crafted and published an ad policy. Here is what we said at that time.

"Although the relationship of the First Amendment to commercial advertising is complex, we start with a strong presumption against banning advertisers because we disapprove of, or even abhor, their political or social views. But we reserve (and exercise) the right to attack them in our editorial columns.

"*The Nation* does not consider itself bound by the standards that must be applied to just any public forum. Our pages are primarily given over to articles that are consistent with the views of the editors. While we also publish articles and letters from readers that diverge from, or even diametrically contradict, the views of the editors, this is not out of a sense that our pages should be open to all or because we believe we are obliged to achieve balance. Whatever we publish appears in the magazine because in our judgment the views expressed deserve to be called to the attention of our readers by us. We are a magazine of limited circulation that enjoys no monopoly on the attention of our readers. They obtain other views in other places, and, through that process, determine for themselves what views to accept or reject.

"Advertising is different. We accept it not to further the views of *The Nation* but to help pay the costs of publishing. We start, therefore, with the presumption that we will accept advertising even if the views expressed are repugnant to the editors. The only limits are those that grow out of our interest in assuring that the advertising does not impede our use of *Nation* editorial columns to say what we want. We assume that our readers will have sufficient knowledge to judge for themselves the merits of commonly known products (such as cigarettes).

"In imposing these limits we will refrain from making judgments based on our opinions of the particular views expressed in an advertisement. If the purpose of the advertisement is to sell a product or service rather than to express a view, we will allow ourselves greater rein in making judgments about suitability. This reflects our view that commerce is less sacrosanct than political speech.

"When we open our pages to political advertising that may be repugnant to the editors, we are furthering our editorial commitment to freedom of speech and using space in which we refrain from articulating editorial policy in a way that fosters diversity in expression of opinion."

Over the years, although particular readers have objected to particular ads, on balance, we believe this policy has served the magazine and its readers well. Of course, we do not agree

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EDITORIALS

Rising Opposition to War

At a press conference on January 20, only two days after thousands of Americans marched in cities and towns across the nation to oppose going to war with Iraq, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld warned, "In the case of Iraq, we're nearing the end of the long road and with every other option exhausted." The next day George W. Bush, angered by the French foreign minister's attack on Washington's "impatience" with the inspection process, added, "This looks like a rerun of a bad movie and I'm not interested in watching it."

The Bush Administration has been going hellbent down Rumsfeld's road, ignoring the UN Security Council where not only France but Russia, China, Germany and others favor giving inspections a chance. Turkey, where 90 percent oppose war, is refusing to permit a large US force to launch an invasion from its soil. Ankara is preparing to host a summit meeting of regional powers seeking to pressure Iraq to cooperate with UN inspectors in an effort to head off a war. On the Continent popular opposition to a conflict runs around 70 to 80 percent.

While Rumsfeld accelerates the military buildup in the Gulf, antiwar forces have stepped up the mobilization at home. A quarter of a million or more protesters in Washington, San Francisco and elsewhere carried off the biggest antiwar demonstrations since the Vietnam era. This time national TV and papers across the country gave them full and respectful play. On February 15, more protests will be held here and all over the world.

The opposition encompasses a broad range of Americans, from pacifists and aging hippies to suburban moms and small-business people. They came from all over, boarding buses in Maine and

Mississippi for the long drive to Washington. They came as individuals and as groups—including the National Council of Churches, Physicians for Social Responsibility, A Jewish Voice for Peace, US Labor Against the War (a coalition of more than sixty unions), United for Peace and Justice (a network of 150 groups), ANSWER (the coalition that organized the Washington march) and more. The Catholic bishops have spoken against war. Antiwar Republicans took out a full-page ad in the *Wall Street Journal*. The January 18 rallies took place not just in cities but also in small towns: In Menomonie, Wisconsin (pop. 15,000), 200 antiwar demonstrators marched down Main Street. More than forty cities have passed resolutions condemning the war, most recently Chicago. On Capitol Hill, Senator Edward Kennedy's blast at Bush's Iraq policy signals a shift by Democrats to stronger opposition. In the House, a resolution to repeal last year's war authorization was introduced and a letter calling on Bush to hold to a diplomatic approach is circulating and already signed by several members who voted for the original authorization for war.

The latest *Washington Post*/ABC poll shows 7 out of 10 Americans favor giving weapons inspectors more time. The latest Pew Research Center poll reports 53 percent of Americans believe Bush has failed to make the case for war. Many question why this Administration sees no alternatives to war in Iraq, where UN inspectors are on the job, while it explores diplomatic routes with North Korea. Others fear the impact of war and terrorism on the stagnant economy. More and more people are directly touched as sons and daughters, husbands and wives ship out to the Gulf.

We're under no illusion that antiwar sentiment is sweeping the land. But doubts about Bush's Iraq policy are broad and deep, and people are stirring. Administration officials should check the rearview mirror; something may be gaining on them.

The Nation.

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The 'Quota' Smokescreen

George W. Bush mounted his bully pulpit on Martin Luther King's birthday and took aim at the University of Michigan's affirmative-action policies, calling them "a quota system." He tried to soft-pedal his quota-slinging rhetoric with an "I strongly support diversity of all kinds" statement and then fired off several more rounds of anti-quota talk directed at the "method used by the University of Michigan to achieve this important goal." His sympathy for the goal but condemnation of the method harked back to the compassionate conservatism of white moderates in Birmingham in 1963, whose equivocations prompted Dr. King to write his "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." King posited that the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils may not be "the Negro's great stumbling block." Instead, he decried "the white moderate...who constantly says: 'I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods.'"

We can have an honest disagreement about what constitutes a quota—or whether Michigan's approach is the most sensible one to achieve the school's laudable goals—but Bush's language and the dishonest characterization of Michigan's processes in the brief filed by his Solicitor General make such a conversation all but impossible. The strategy of the Administration brief is to "quotify" any aspect of the admissions process that dares notice the race of applicants. Even when the college admissions committee merely flags the files of underrepresented students of color for further review or the law school committee seeks—as a matter of informed educational policy—a critical mass of students of color to assure their participation in a robust exchange of views in the law school classroom, the Administration concludes that there is no meaningful distinction from strict numerical quotas. The bottom line in their judgment seems to be that any attention to race, whether it is a nuanced point system, as at the University of Michigan college, or a more flexible and individualized process, as at the Michigan law school, is simply a quota in disguise. And yet neither the Solicitor General nor the President offers any specific evidence that anyone at either the college or the law school was admitted or excluded "solely" or even primarily based on race.

Because race has a political, economic and social component, professor of psychology Patricia Gurin finds that when people who have lived on the darker side of our racial divide have access to our classrooms and our faculties, white and nonwhite students alike achieve better intellectual growth and improved capacity to participate in our multiracial democracy. The rhetoric of quotas shuts down the conversation about racially diverse classrooms and their relationship to the learning environment. It also diverts our attention from the real double-bind that distorts the face of higher education in America.

The first thread in the double bind is the artificial scarcity created by the overinvestment of state resources in prisons because of mandatory minimum sentences and three-strikes laws, which has starved educational budgets. As a result, many students who want to attend public institutions of higher education cannot, both because of rising tuition costs and because the competition for admission is fiercer than ever. And competition for the more

COMMENT

selective public universities is especially tough, because the schools function less and less as educational greenhouses and more and more as status markers and gateways to elite networks.

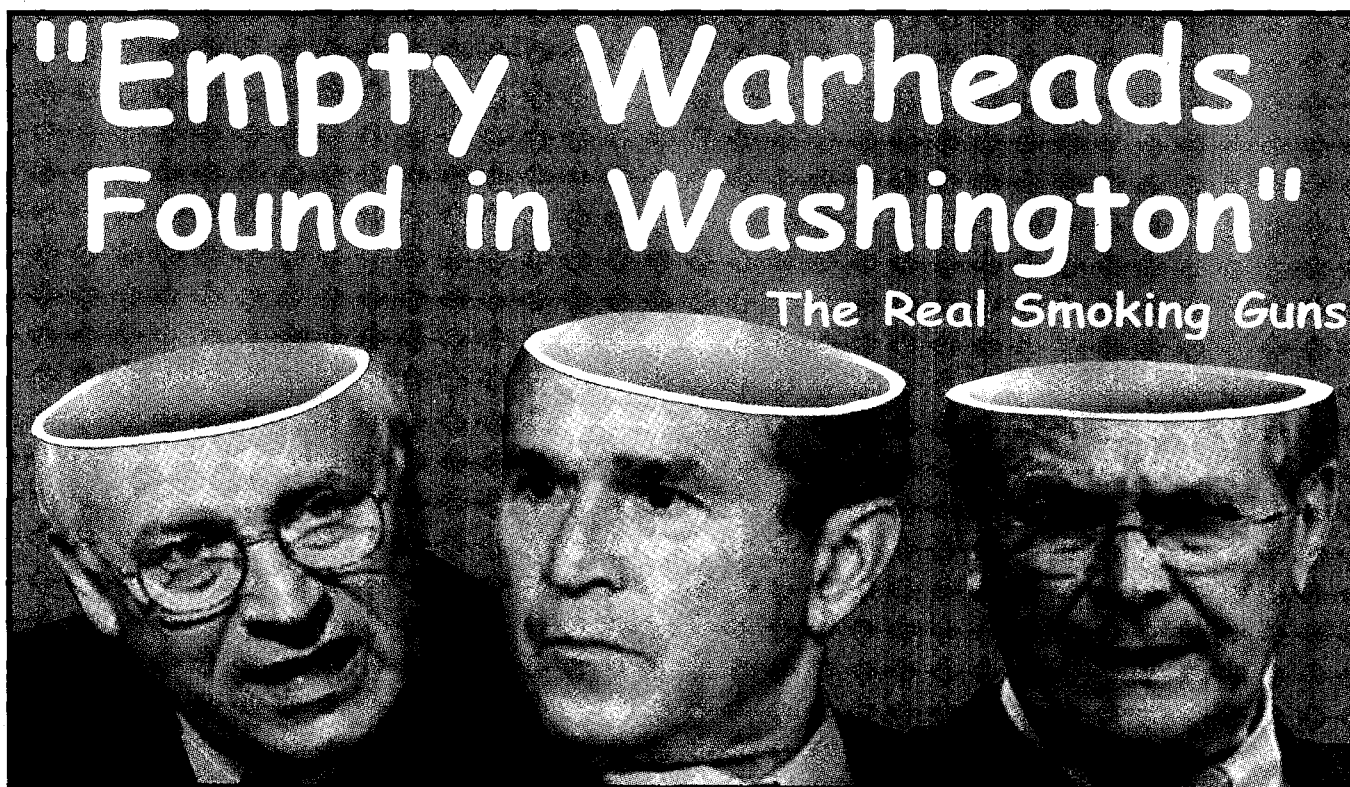
The rising number of applications requires ever more efficient means of sorting candidates. This helps explain the second thread of the educational double-bind, our worship of simple, uniform measures of qualification, which I call "testocracy." The central problem is that Michigan, as is true of most elite educational institutions, has allowed its admissions standards to be driven by the rankings posted by a newsmagazine. No one wants to admit the dirty secret of higher education: In the name of merit as determined by *U.S. News & World Report*, the current system emphasizes efficiency and brand valuation over individualized assessments; test scores over initiative, persistence and creativity; and wealth over diversity.

The implicit message of Bush's statement and even more the brief filed by his Solicitor General is that attention to racial diversity, while laudable in the abstract, in practice subverts attention to qualifications based on merit. Yet their conception of merit is something of an optical illusion: High-stakes tests correlate well with socioeconomic status, but they are poor at predicting grades and totally unable to anticipate future career success. It was not affirmative action that kept the white plaintiffs out of Michigan; it was the mirage of merit (including commitments to social privilege and affluence) that was primarily responsible for their fate.

Bush himself was the beneficiary of this double standard, where we arbitrarily call something merit and thus it is so. In his day, merit was defined as "character," which gave a preference to white men of "good breeding" from what Nicholas Lemann calls the "Episcopacy." Today what we call merit is defined as scores on

timed aptitude tests—creating the testocracy. And yet the testocracy fails to predict most of those who will perform well in college and afterward. Test scores are at best imperfect proxies for merit, since they correlate more strongly with grandparents' class status than with first-year college or law school grades. And what's more, at least in Bush's day, there was a certain self-consciousness that the privilege of admission should be accompanied by a need to serve—noblesse oblige. Today, our love affair with the testocracy grants its beneficiaries a false sense of entitlement. Students proceed as if a coveted slot in a selective school is their due reward, without any concomitant need to give back to the community that's subsidizing their education. As a result, a study of graduates at the Michigan law school found that those with the highest conventional entry scores were the least likely to become leaders in their community, to do public service or to mentor younger attorneys. At the same time, it was the black and Latino students who in fact were most successful in realizing all three elements of the law school's mission: financial satisfaction, career satisfaction and leadership in their community.

There are certainly alternatives to Michigan's process for assuring merit and diversity. There is much to recommend the Texas 10 Percent Plan—where the top 10 percent of the graduates of each high school in the state are automatically admitted to the two flagship public colleges. Black and Latino legislators, academics, advocates and activists who were genuinely committed to fairness and diversity initiated the plan. They succeeded in opening up access for blacks, Latinos and poor whites in numbers very close to their percentage under more traditional affirmative action. The plan is not only fair; it also promotes academic excellence. Those admitted under the plan outperform their counter-



RICHARD HAMMOND

parts who come in under the conventional testocracy. Whether white, black, Latino or Asian, the 10 percenters finish their first year of college with higher GPAs than other freshmen. The plan, however, does not apply at the graduate school level, a fact overlooked in the Administration's briefs. Liberal critics contend that the plan depends on segregated high schools to work. However, until the courts or state governments do something about segregated schools, this approach integrates one tier of the educational system, and if used at the elementary school level might integrate some magnet high schools as well.

But before we can have a meaningful conversation about alternative ways to achieve diversity, we first need to have an honest conversation about merit and opportunity. Test scores are not a fair or reliable way to distribute a scarce public resource, given the strength of their relationship to wealth rather than performance. Nor does the fictitious equation between test scores and merit actually fulfill the mission of public colleges to graduate students who go on to achieve individual goals, serve community needs and help society realize its democratic potential. With its incendiary use of the language of quotas, the Bush Administration shifts our attention from this long-overdue debate about the relationship of admissions standards across the board to the democratic mission of higher education in an increasingly multiracial and knowledge-based economy.

LANI GUINIER

Lani Guinier, the Bennet Boskey Professor of Law at Harvard Law School, is the co-author of The Miner's Canary: Enlisting Race, Resisting Power, Transforming Democracy (Harvard).

Reformers at Bay in Iran

In Iran, the name Abbas Abdi is inextricably linked with the word "reform." Although he's now a key ally of President Mohammad Khatami and an advocate of opening a dialogue with the United States, Abdi first made his name as a revolutionary student leader in the 1979 US embassy siege. Twenty years later, student protests and massive civil unrest broke out around Abdi again, when hard-liners shuttered the prominent reformist paper he edited. So it is in keeping with Abdi's symbolic stature that he is under fire in the latest conservative assault on the reformist opposition. On November 4, 2002—the twenty-third anniversary of the embassy takeover, no less—Abdi was taken from his home and charged with espionage.

At the heart of his case is a poll that he and fellow detainees Behrouz Geranpayeh and Hossein Ghazian conducted for the reformist-dominated Parliament late last year. In a country that calls the United States the Great Satan and finds itself on the receiving end of that "axis of evil" barb, the findings were explosive. Nearly 75 percent of those polled favored dialogue with the United States, and 46 percent felt that American policy toward Iran was "to some extent correct."

The conservative judiciary struck back with a vengeance, accusing the pollsters of funneling information to foreign intelligence agencies and tampering with the poll data. But the three men may be guilty of nothing more than their reformist

associations—ties that make them enticing targets for conservatives hungry to demoralize a weakened opposition and consolidate power.

The trouble began this past fall, after Iran's state news agency, IRNA, published the poll findings. By the first week of November, the judiciary had closed down both of the polling institutes that had spearheaded the study. The pollsters soon found themselves in solitary detention, while the judiciary targeted the head of the IRNA for publishing the findings and even accused a parliamentarian of illegally diverting state funds to the researchers.

Much to the dismay of members of Khatami's party, the Islamic Iran Participation Front, notoriously conservative judge Said Mortazavi is presiding over the hearings of the pollsters' cases. Khatami commissioned a panel to investigate; his brother, Mohammad Reza Khatami—Participation Front leader and deputy speaker of the Parliament—condemned the arrests as "obviously politically motivated."

The timing of the trials would seem to bear out that accusation. Iran was wracked by student protests in November and December over the death sentence of Hashem Aghajari, a professor who delivered a scathing indictment of Iran's hard-line clerical rulers. Adding to the tension, President Khatami made a desperate effort to salvage his reformist agenda by presenting two controversial bills to Parliament last fall. One would expand presidential powers. The other would prevent the Guardian Council, a conservative oversight body that has veto power over all legislation, from drastically limiting the pool of political candidates. It's unlikely that the council would curtail its own powers, however, and experts express pessimism about the prospects of Khatami's last-ditch effort.

In this volatile climate, the pollster trial has pushed the reformists to the brink. Many suspect they may be next on the chopping block; others fear the annihilation of the main reformist party altogether. "I wouldn't be surprised if they were arrested lock, stock and barrel," said one analyst.

Thwarted by hard-liners, who have blocked laws, thrown Khatami allies and reformist parliamentarians in jail and shut down nearly all dissenting papers, the Khatami government has done little but provide the conservatives with a veneer of democratic legitimacy. For many reformists, the pollster case was the last straw—President Khatami and Participation Front parliamentarians have threatened a mass walkout over the trial and two bills. As Mohammad Reza Khatami said, "Even if such an option is a bad one, it appears inevitable when compared to other options that are even worse."

Stoking anti-reformists' aggression is the threat—and potential economic and strategic promise—of a US presence just outside Iran's borders. Any deals with the United States that would alleviate Iranians' economic hardship would be an incredible prize, and conservatives and centrists are attempting to use the trial to make sure reformers aren't the ones sitting at the negotiating table. The trial's anti-American rhetoric serves an additional purpose—with it, conservatives can maintain their "Great Satan" line even if they seek to engage in back-room deals with the United States.

If there is a mass resignation, widespread speculation points to former President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani to assume control of a temporary government. An influential moderate conservative

who favors open economic relations while keeping Iran's political process insulated from the outside world, Rafsanjani has succeeded in forming a loose coalition of technocrats, merchants and pragmatic clerics around him—and is cultivating the all-important blessing of conservative supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. This may be the face of a new government—one that would pursue economic engagement with the United States but leave Iran's political strife and authoritarianism unchanged. It all hinges on Khatami and his allies, however, and no one can predict whether they will act on their threats to resign. Abdi's case is just the beginning—one warning sign, one symbolic arrest designed to push reformists to the breaking point. NOY THRUPKAEW

Noy Thrupkaew writes about culture and international affairs.

A Win at Cracker Barrel

A lonely Cracker Barrel restaurant stands alongside the highway that runs near my house. I always wonder who eats there, given that it's just a few miles from Lesbianville (*aka* Northampton, Massachusetts). I have my own doubts about its Southern cooking, but mainly I know that the chain has been a target of boycotters for more than a decade to protest discrimination against gay and lesbian employees.

In 1991 Cracker Barrel Old Country Store implemented a now-infamous policy of firing gay employees, regardless of their performance. Cheryl Summerville, a hardworking cook with a mortgage to pay and a son to raise, received one of the eleven pink slips. Our image of gay civil rights battles dropped out of the realm of middle-class comfort and security and landed in the working class, demonstrating that we're all vulnerable to bigotry. After many protests and the boycott, the company rescinded its discriminatory policy but never rehired Cheryl and the other fired workers. The boycott quietly continued. In the meantime, Cracker Barrel stubbornly refused to add sexual orientation to its nondiscrimination policy.

Not much changed until late November, when pressure from company owners—the people and institutions who own shares of stock in Cracker Barrel—pushed the company to promise not to discriminate. A majority of shareholders voted to add sexual orientation to the company's nondiscrimination policy over the management's wishes, an embarrassment that prodded the company to take action on its own.

On the surface, this looks like a victory for economics over politics. Who needs the messy world of organizational politics when we can marshal our vaunted gay economic clout in the service of social change? On closer examination, though, the Cracker Barrel victory shows the promise—but also the limitation—of gay people's economic power. We certainly took business away from the chain. My decision to avoid their restaurants, despite their convenient allure on long cross-country drives, wouldn't have mattered a bit. But collectively, with leadership from gay organizations, widespread gay determination and the help of our allies, we got the word out. Lots of people avoided the restaurants and learned about the need for new laws to prevent this from happening again.

Did we make a sizable dent? Nobody knows how much money gay people and allies would have spent at Cracker Barrel without the boycott. The income and earnings of parent company CBRL Group, Inc. over the past ten years don't show an obvious effect, however. The company's performance is consistent with research on boycotts showing that companies have more to fear from bad public relations generated by a boycott than they do from the loss of sales revenue. Then there was the threat that investors might avoid buying Cracker Barrel stock because of its regressive labor management policies. On its own, that effort seems unlikely to have provided enough economic pressure on the company, given the fact that stock prices reflect, more than influence, a company's bottom line.

But shareholders have another weapon for change—the brute force of owners voting to change company policies. That, too, required a massive ten-year effort by investor activists, led by the New York City Employees Retirement System and the Equality Project, to get pension funds and other big players to pledge their votes to the cause. They also had to lobby and sue the Securities and Exchange Commission, which wanted to stop shareholders from placing antidiscrimination resolutions on the ballot. Shareholder activism took a decade to work, because the key was not economics—it was politics. In the context of social change, economic power doesn't work unless it's organized in a purposeful way. The grassroots might be greener in a shareholder resolution battle, but they need the same organizational nurturing that legislative efforts require.

We should celebrate this victory, but we shouldn't see it as the direct result of gay economic pressure on Cracker Barrel's bottom line. Our economic clout depends on our ability to wield it collectively, not individually. Personal shopping and investment decisions may feel political, but they'll lead to change only if we make them in the context of a political movement. M.V. LEE BADGETT

M.V. Lee Badgett is an economist at the University of Massachusetts and the Institute for Gay and Lesbian Strategic Studies. This essay draws on her book, Money, Myths, and Change: The Economic Lives of Lesbians and Gay Men (Chicago).

CAVIN TRIMLEY

TWO BAD GUYS

This Kim Jong Il's a naughty lad,
But Bush says he's not half as bad
As ol' Saddam, whom we must swat
Before he gets what Kim has got.
Though both are in the evil axis,
Saddam gets hit, while Kim relaxes,
And why? What do our leaders say?
The reason changes every day.

If you thought the days of indigenous people being forced from their land were long gone, think again.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE NATIVE PEOPLE OF THE AMERICAS IS BEING REPEATED TODAY IN BOTSWANA. THERE, THE GANA AND GWI BUSHMEN AND THEIR NEIGHBORS THE BAKGALAGADI HAVE BEEN THROWN OFF THEIR ANCESTRAL LAND AFTER YEARS OF PERSECUTION. THEY NOW LIVE IN BLEAK RESETTLEMENT CAMPS WHERE THEY ARE DEPENDENT ON GOVERNMENT HANDOUTS. THE GOVERNMENT PRETENDS THIS IS 'DEVELOPMENT'. SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL BELIEVES THE LAND IS BEING CLEARED FOR EVENTUAL MINING.

DIAMOND GIANT DE BEERS HAS CONCESSIONS ON BUSHMAN LAND. SURVIVAL HAS ASKED THE COMPANY TO ACT TO SAVE THE BUSHMEN BUT DE BEERS, IGNORING INTERNATIONAL LAW, REJECTS INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RIGHTS TO THEIR LAND. THEY EVEN CLAIM THAT RECOGNISING THEIR LAND RIGHTS WOULD LEAD TO APARTHEID.



MOGETSE KABOIKANYO WAS A KGALAGADI MAN WHO LIVED ALONGSIDE THE BUSHMEN IN THE CENTRAL KALAHARI GAME RESERVE. LAST YEAR HE WAS FORCIBLY RELOCATED TO A CAMP OUTSIDE THE RESERVE. HE DIED JUST FOUR MONTHS LATER AND, AFTER YEARS OF FIGHTING FOR HIS PEOPLE'S LAND, WAS BURIED FAR FROM HIS ANCESTORS' GRAVES. PRIOR TO BEING MOVED, HE GAVE SURVIVAL THIS TESTIMONY - A PERMANENT MEMORIAL TO THE BUSHMEN'S FIGHT FOR JUSTICE IN BOTSWANA.

“ GUGAMA, THE CREATOR,

made us. That was a long time ago - so long ago that I can't know when it happened. That is the past, but our future comes from the lives of our children, our future is rooted in the hunt, and in the fruits which grow in this place. When we hunt, we are dancing. And when the rain comes it fills us with joy. This is our place, and here everything gives us life.

God made us, and He made the animals for us. Why does the government think they are more important than the people? The government just wants to take all our good things. The government is like a poor fellow who sees a rich man and is jealous and wants to take what he has. Now we must live in the shadow of being thrown off our land. There can no longer be any rest.

I was born in this place and I have been here for a very long time. Now this relocation thing has come. They come and say that I have to move, that this place is for animals. But why must I move and leave the animals? I was born with them and I must stay with them. I have that right.

They have already taken my relatives. My brother has been taken and I am here alone. But I am not going to leave. If they want to kill me why don't they just do it? They will kill me for my land.

When they come I say, 'I don't want you to come here, but if you must, then leave your guns behind. If you come with your guns - ready for war - you will have to kill me. I won't do what you want.'

Now I am pleased because Survival is noting my words and I think that you will shout them out so that many people will learn my story. I am harassed by the government of Botswana. We are chased off our birthright, our place. I think that God cannot accept that: Gugama created the things here so that we can use them for our survival.

The officials bully people and move them without even asking them. They say, 'Tear down your houses, and we'll load them on the trucks, and we'll load you as well.' These things are done to us because we are Bushman people. This is not the way for anyone to behave. You should ask people what it is they want, and then wait and listen to them. The officials who come here never even try to respect me. I have to explain that I am a human being.

The government of Botswana calls itself a democracy. But it isn't so here. We are oppressed until we die, and soon there will be no one left.

We are just like pieces of rubbish flying off when the wind comes. They sweep us off our land and dump us on the rubbish pile, far from our animals and plants and spirits of the ancestors. That is what you do to rubbish, but not to people.

The government talks about development. Let it help us with water, then leave us to our own place. We can think for ourselves; we can think about what we need. Our future comes from the lives of our children. Development can only come in their own place.

THEY MUST HAVE THEIR ANCESTRAL LAND. ”

Save the Bushmen from extinction

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Registered charity 267444

Survival
for tribal peoples



KATHA POLLITT

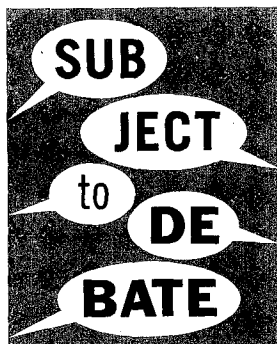
The Smiths Go to Washington

My friend Ruth Rosen, who writes a terrific column for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, advised her readers to go to the antiwar marches organized by International ANSWER but to take their own signs. That's what I did when I went to the January 18 demonstration in Washington, except instead of an actual sign, which I was too disorganized to put together, I just carried my usual basket of mental reservations about the people in charge. But never mind them—it was a great day. The speakers left something to be desired—too many men, too many clerics, too much Ramsey Clark, unofficial totem of the Workers World Party, the weird pseudomarxist sect behind ANSWER—but nobody I could see looked like they were paying a lot of attention. They were having too much fun milling about and congratulating each other on the fine turnout despite the bitter cold.

I don't know how many people were there—somewhere between 50,000 and 500,000, depending on whom you asked; the media stuck to locutions like “tens of thousands,” while the DC police estimate was “an awful lot.” To me it felt like not the biggest demo I had ever been to, but still a good-sized crowd. More important than the numbers, though, was the broad spectrum of normal (for lack of a better word) people present. Although it was disproportionately white, this was the most mainstream rally against war I've seen since the Central Park nuclear freeze demo in 1982. There were card-carrying members of the AARP, high school and college-age kids—scads of them—and people in the middle with babies in strollers and preteens lagging behind; a number of self-identified Republicans; people carrying American flags; people marching with their church groups; people who had made the long trek from Mississippi, North Dakota or other distant states. “I'm with six buses from Syracuse, NY,” read one sign. “Don't make me come back here again!”

Marchers had gone all-out with handmade signs. Lots of new questions: “What Would Jesus Bomb?” “What if Iraq's Main Export Was Broccoli?” “What Would President Bartlett Do?” (Here's a hint: While we were rallying on the Mall, Martin Sheen was speaking at the antiwar rally in San Francisco.) Some took the economic angle: “My son needs a job, not a gun.” “Look, I'll pay more for gas.” Others aimed at Bush himself: “Regime Change Begins at Home”; “Drop Bush Not Bombs.” Patriotism was big: “It's My Flag Too”; “Peace Is Patriotic.” I think my favorite was this one, though, carried by a bearded man in a huge sweater: “We have the knowledge to give everyone a great life and not exhaust the world's resources. Let's do that.” Rarely has utopianism sounded so sensible.

Since activists started mobilizing against invasion, some people have pooh-poohed demonstrations: They're soooo twentieth century, the kids are too hip for that these days, can't they skateboard against the war instead, or hack somebody's computer? “It's just a feel-good exercise,” a man on the train from New York told me, advising me to write my Congressperson. (Gee, I hadn't



thought of that.) Well, feel-good exercises have their place—according to a recent British survey, participating in protests and demonstrations is excellent for one's physical and mental health. But speaking as one who has spent many an hour on Internet activism—signing ads and petitions, sending e-mails and faxes, forwarding forwards and nudging friends to do same—and many an hour (well, many a minute) writing letters and making phone calls too, I think last weekend's demos show that mass protests really do matter. Not only do they draw people

in by making them feel less alone and powerless, nothing beats just getting out there and making the movement visible. Even in the twenty-first century, there's no better way to say: We're here! Lots of us! And it seems to be working: Perhaps atoning for having missed the story on popular opposition back in October when Congress passed its blanket resolution authorizing an invasion of Iraq, and for seriously underestimating the size and significance of last fall's demonstrations, the media gave the marches surprisingly good coverage, emphasizing the “cross-section of America” angle rather than taking its usual line of “Stalinists, potheads and, ooh look, a man in a dress!” CNN devoted several hours to both the Washington and San Francisco rallies.

When ANSWER called demonstrations back in the fall, there was quite a lot of controversy over their prominent role. For those who favor invasion, like Christopher Hitchens, ANSWER's leadership clinches the argument that the antiwar movement consists of people who hate America and support “Islamofascism,” or who are the weak-minded dupes of those who do. Some who oppose invasion argued that ANSWER's off-key Stalinism and refusal to condemn Saddam Hussein, not to mention its connection with the freakish WWP, risked turning off the broad mass of Americans and squelching the nascent peace movement. It always seemed to me that ANSWER spoke only for itself, that not many people were listening, and that if war was an unpopular plan, the movement against it would grow way beyond the capacity of ANSWER to control it or lead it. I think the march suggests that this process is well under way. In fact, ANSWER may have unintentionally spurred the rest of us to get busy and come up with alternatives like United for Peace and Justice or the Campaign for Peace and Democracy. Or at least to make our own signs.

The entire state of Kansas could march on Washington, though, and pro-war pundits would see it merely as proof of how many America-haters and Saddam-lovers and fans of Ramsey Clark there are hidden away in the heartland. In the *Washington Post*, Michael Kelly heaped scorn on the *New York Times* for referring to the demo in an editorial as “impressive for the obvious mainstream roots of the marchers” when it should have been inveighing against ANSWER and “the left,” which has “hardened itself around the core value of a furious, permanent, reactionary opposition to the devil-state America.” Wow. Kelly really should get out of the house more.

I'm certainly glad I did.

ERIC ALTERMAN

State of Disunion

These are dangerous times. George W. Bush is set to make another State of the Union address.

The last one was a doozy. Few speeches in political history have caused so much damage based on so little forethought by so many wise guys.

Not long after that famous "Axis of Evil" 2002 address, I was sharing a moment with William Kristol at a transatlantic confab in Brussels (where I happen to be again). He seemed a happy man, and why not? After a long and relatively public struggle, the Bush Administration had just adopted the neo-conservative foreign policy doctrine of global military unilateralism and was promising to beat up bad guys—Iraq, Iran and North Korea—just as soon as it got around to it. I congratulated Kristol on his victory, but given how little sense it made to lump these three very different nations together, even for rhetorical purposes, one question nagged at me, "How can you be certain they mean it?" I wondered. "What if it was just a speechwriter?" Kristol told me not to worry. "In any other speech, at any other time, I'd be concerned," he averred. "But not the State of the Union. It's too important. Every sentence is fully vetted and deeply considered. Nothing gets in there that they are not sure they mean."

We now know that Kristol was being overly generous. As former Bush aide John DiIulio admitted before he was forced to make his show trial-style confession, we are living in "the reign of the Mayberry Machiavellis," in which everything—and I mean everything—[is] being run by the political arm.... There is no precedent in any modern White House for what is going on in this one: a complete lack of a policy apparatus."

Witness the 2002 address. David Frum, a former staffer of Kristol's at *The Weekly Standard*, was the original author of the "axis of evil" phrase during his fourteen-month sojourn as a White House speechwriter. We learned this first when his wife, Danielle Crittenden, sent out a mass e-mail announcing it. But Frum confirms the details in his score-settling memoir, *The Right Man*. Frum, who alternately describes Bush as "quick to anger; sometimes glib, even dogmatic; often uncurious and as a result ill-informed," and "a sharp exception to the White House code of niceness," says he originally came up with the term "axis of hatred," but it was later massaged by chief speechwriter Michael Gerson in order to employ "the theological language that Bush had made his own since September 11."

He had been assigned by Gerson to come up with a justification for war with Iraq. This, in itself, is rather alarming. After all, Frum was a relatively junior speechwriter with no experience in foreign affairs. The Administration had been trying to pin September 11 on the Iraqis almost from the beginning, and despite the energetic efforts of the punditocracy propaganda brigade, led in this case by the *New York Times*'s William Safire, they failed miserably. Even the professionals at the CIA explicitly denied their case and gave Iraq a clean bill—terrorism-wise—since 1993. So it fell to Frum, who we now learn is about as flawed a student

**STOP THE
PRESSES**

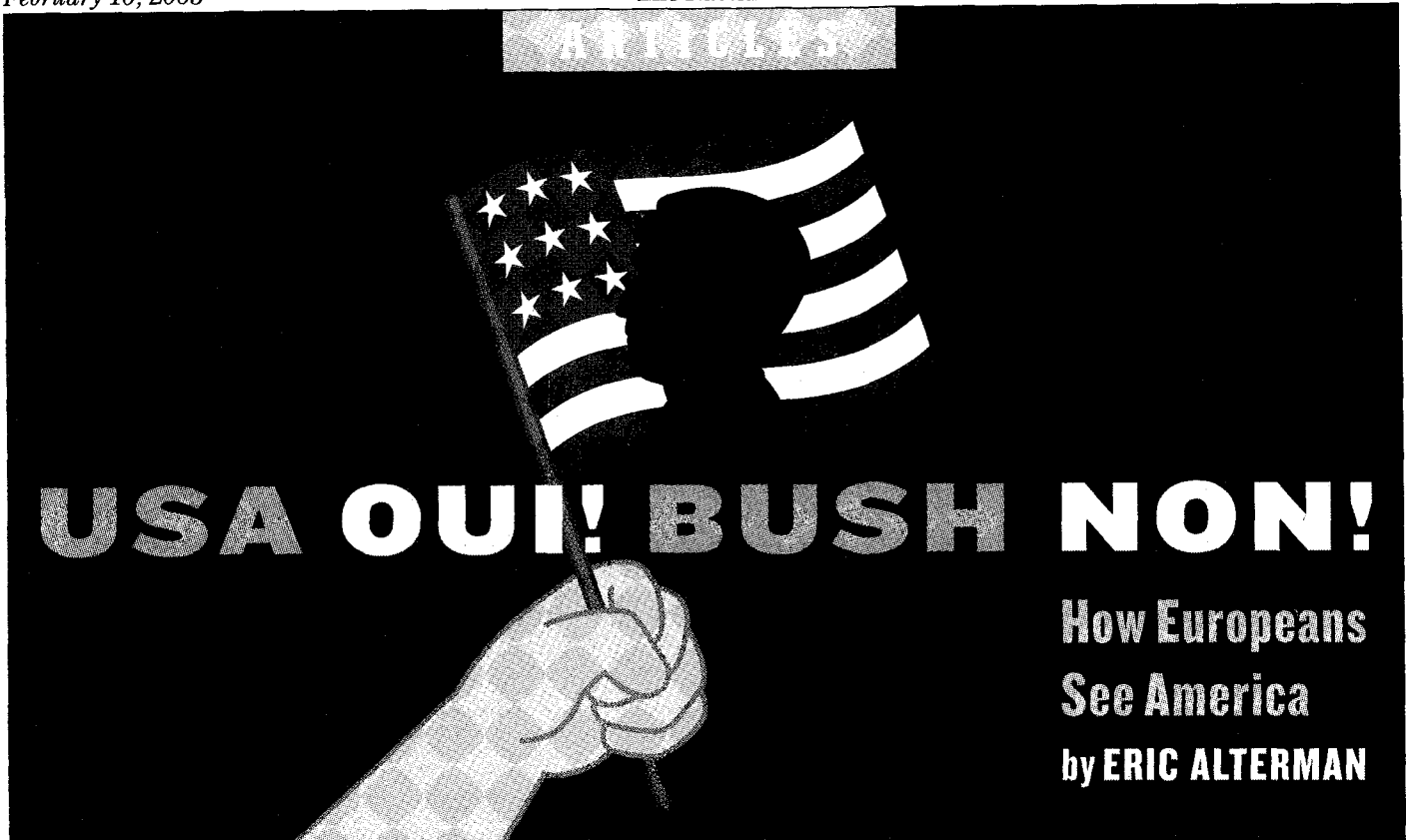


of history as Bush undoubtedly was when he got into Yale based on its affirmative-action policy for the sons of powerful rich white legacies. He came up with an analogy to Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo that would require further explication just to rate an F. Well, the whole concept might have been nothing more than yet another sad example of a bookish Jewish boy trying to sound like a Bible-thumping Texas gunfighter but it turns out that presidential ideas—even incoherent ones—have consequences. Knowledgeable critics immediately identified two obvious dangers. Yale historian Abbas Amanat warned that the phony saber rattling toward Iran would likely strengthen the mullahs there in their struggle with the progressive, democratic forces that are seeking to open that nation up to US/Western influence.

More significant, at least at the moment, were the alarm bells Bush's swaggering foolishness set off regarding the powder-keg Korean peninsula. As Morton Abramowitz and James Laney then warned, "Besides putting another knife in the diminishing South Korean president," the speech would likely cause "dangerous escalatory consequences [including]...renewed tensions on the peninsula and continued export of missiles to the Middle East." Bingo. North Korea called the Bush bluff, and the result, notes Richard Cohen, "has been a stumble, a fumble, an error compounded by a blooper.... as appalling a display of diplomacy as anyone has seen since a shooting in Sarajevo turned into World War I." Even so staunch a Bush booster as Charles Krauthammer has been forced to call his response an "abject Korea cave-in."

Ironically, the Bush team's macho/craven mismatch has endangered—at least for the time being—its obsession with "regime change" in Iraq. In England, America's most loyal ally in the fight against Saddam, Tony Blair, is under increasing pressure to withdraw his outspoken support for this unnecessary adventure. A Labour MP, described by Andrew Rawnsley, chief political commentator for *The Observer*, as "impeccably loyal and Atlanticist," admits, "I've no hang-ups about joining the United States in military action. It's following that cowboy which I find so hard to stomach." Rawnsley also quotes a former Conservative cabinet minister who says he regards George Bush as "a child running around with a grenade with the pin pulled out." Right now, the lack of confidence Bush inspires in our allies is the world's single best hope for peace.

Lest we forget the role of the librumedia in all this, Bush's speech inspired Chris Matthews to compare him to John F. Kennedy. Doris Kearns Goodwin called it "galvanizing." Indeed. Let's hope this time around, with Frum out promoting his memoir, and the fruits of this North Korea nonsense bared for all to see, somebody keeps the guy tethered back to Mayberry. I doubt even Barney Fife could have screwed up foreign policy this badly. (And Professor DiIulio owes old Nicolo a big apology.)



Twenty-four hours or so after landing in Paris for a five-city tour in search of the new European anti-Americanism, I found myself in one of the coolest places on the planet: a big old ugly hockey arena on the outskirts of town, surrounded by 15,000 people waiting for Bruce Springsteen and the E Street Band to come onstage. The concert turned out to be a pretty standard Springsteen concert. But it's always interesting to see him play abroad, and Paris enjoys a special place in Springsteen lore. It was here, back in 1980, that Bruce first talked politics with his fans. Largely self-educated, Springsteen had been given a copy of Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager's *A Short History of the United States*. He read it and told the crowd that America "held out a promise and it was a promise that gets broken every day in the most violent way. But it's a promise that never, ever dies, and it's always inside of you."

You can tell a lot about a continent by the way it reacts to Bruce Springsteen. Tonight, at the Bercy Stadium, the typically multi-generational, sold-out Springsteen audience could be from Anytown, USA. Everybody knows all the lyrics, even to the new songs. Toward the end of the evening, Bruce announces, in French, "I wrote this song about the Vietnam War. I want to do it for you tonight for peace," and 15,000 Parisians, standing in the historic home of cultural anti-Americanism, scream out at the top of their collective lungs, "I was born in the USA," fists in the air.

You can't be anti-American if you love Bruce Springsteen. You can criticize America. You can march against America's actions in the world. You can take issue with the policies of its unelected, unusually aggressive and unthinking Administration, and you can even get annoyed with its ubiquitous cultural and commercial presence in your life. But you can't be anti-American. George W. Bush is "like a cartoon stereotype" representing "the worst side of the US culture," Jordi Beleta, 45, told Phil Kuntz of the *Wall Street*

Journal, outside Barcelona's Palau Sant Jordi two nights after Paris. "Bruce is real. He's a street man." A Reuters reporter found a similar story in Berlin: "America can keep Bush but Springsteen can come back here as often as he wants," said Rumen Milkov, 36.

To be genuinely anti-American, as the Italian political scientist Robert Toscano points out, is to disapprove of the United States "for what it is, rather than what it does." Bush Administration officials and their supporters in the media would like to confuse this point in order to dismiss or delegitimize widespread concern and anger about the course of US foreign policy. To listen to their words, Europe has become a smoldering caldron of anti-Americanism, in which even our best qualities are held against us by a jealous, frustrated and xenophobic population led by cowardly, pacifistic politicians. The picture painted in the US media is one of almost relentless resentment.

I heard it first about France, where an anti-McDonald's movement had taken hold, and a xenophobic, neofascist Hitler apologist managed to come in second in a national presidential election. Walk into a French bookstore and you will find titles like *Who Is Killing France?*, *American Totalitarianism*, *No Thanks Uncle Sam*, *A Strange Dictatorship*. French newspapers are filled with blistering criticism of the US role in the world. *Le Monde*, for instance, pulled no punches when it recently termed Bush's Middle East policies "extraordinary, unjust and arrogant."

Well, France is France, but even in Britain, whose prime minister, Tony Blair, has proven Bush's most reliable and articulate ally across the pond, mainstream papers like the *Mirror* announce in large headlines—on July 4, no less—"The USA Is Now the World's Leading Rogue State." (The more liberal *Guardian* said the United States is an "unrepentant outlaw" nation.) Will Hutton, a former editor of the *Observer*, wrote a book portraying the United States as in "the extraordinary grip of Christian fundamen-

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Iraq

*"Vengeance is mine, I will repay...
if your enemies are hungry, feed them;
if they are thirsty, give them something
to drink; for by doing this you will heap
burning coals on their heads."*

Romans 12: 19-20

Males and one woman
sip coffee mornings in the White House,
talk of desires about Iraq.
For ten years
Less-than-Elected-Vice-President Cheney
evolves The Plan,
the Empire of the United States of America.

Empire building requires "pre-emptive strikes."
When is the strategic time to promote a strike against Iraq?
Not summer,
not with Less-than-Elected-President Bush vacationing in Crawford,
ensconced in his golf cart,
quipping "crawfished" about Saddam Hussein.

"From a marketing point of view,"
says the White House Chief of Staff,
"you don't introduce new products in August."

Oil waits in the Iraqi womb,
second biggest oil field in the earth.

Think of the Oklahoma bombing.
Whom did the bomber call "Collateral Damage"?
Children.
Think of bombing, invading Iraq.
Half Iraq's population,
CHILDREN.

Maxwell Corydon Wheat, Jr.
E-mail: Maxwell623@aol.com

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talism"; boasting a "democracy" that is "an offense to democratic ideals," where the "dominant conservatism is very ideological, almost Leninist," and is bolstered by "tenacious endemic racism," with an economy that "rests on an enormous confidence trick," and in which, incidentally, "citizens routinely shoot each other."

I heard it about Italy, where the left was historically dominated by an anti-American Communist Party, and hundreds of thousands gathered to demonstrate against US-led globalization in July 2001 and again against the planned war in Iraq in November.

And I heard it, perhaps most alarmingly, about Germany, which, since World War II, has always been a bastion of support for the United States. In spring 2002, when Bush visited Berlin, the mayor announced that he would have to leave town, and tens of thousands of Germans participated in more than twenty-five large anti-US demonstrations. The sentiment was hardly limited to the demonstrators, moreover. Not only did Chancellor Gerhard Schröder manage to win re-election by running less against his opponent than against Bush's proposed war in Iraq, refusing cooperation under any circumstances, including full UN approval—but his justice minister, Herta Däubler-Gmelin, even compared Bush to Hitler. (According to *Washington Post* columnist Marc Fisher, Däubler-Gmelin was only saying "what many Germans believe.")

Meanwhile, beyond the Afghanistan war, I could find no support anywhere in Europe for the Bush Administration's policy priorities: none whatsoever for US withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol, the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty or for attempts to weaken the Chemical and Biological Weapons (CBW) conventions, for opposing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the International Criminal Court (ICC), and not much at all for forcible "regime change" in Iraq. And there was a general disgust with the Bush Administration's formulation—initially explicated in Bush's 2002 State of the Union speech—of an "Axis of Evil" against which all civilized nations must ally themselves. In England, the *Guardian* termed the speech "Hate of the Union." As Jörg Lau, a *Die Zeit* correspondent in Berlin who is quite sympathetic to the United States, ruefully notes, the speech was "unanimously unpopular" in Europe. "I mean it was just so stupid, they are always talking about good and evil, in quasi-religious terms, and it gives us a strange sense of relief. Bush is always showing himself to be utterly stupid.... And we just sit back and wait for him to do it. It's unhealthy."

Even such famously pro-American voices as Chris Patten, the much-admired conservative former governor of Hong Kong—now EU Commissioner for External Relations—have taken to complaining about the Bush Administration's launch into "unilateralist overdrive," with its "absolutist" approach to world affairs. These views, moreover, are mirrored almost perfectly by those of Frankfurt University philosopher Jürgen Habermas, the titanic figure of the European democratic (and pro-American) left, who warns, "Many Americans do not yet realize the extent and the character of the growing rejection of, if not resentment against, the policy of the present American Administration throughout Europe, including in Great Britain. The emotional gap may well become deeper than it has ever been since the end of World War II."

Based on all of the above and far more, a number of American observers have concluded that these European attitudes—which

they define as anti-Americanism—are potential grounds for divorce. Indeed, this view is becoming conventional wisdom in the center-right nexus that dominates US mainstream debate. *New York Times* bigfoot pundit Thomas Friedman laments what he terms “the new anti-Americanism, a blend of jealousy and resentment of America’s overwhelming economic and military power.” Karl Zinsmeister, editor of the American Enterprise Institute’s monthly magazine, attended a meeting of European movers and shakers in Warsaw in April 2002 and discovered only “animus, jealousy, and willful spite” toward the United States. The conservative economist Irwin Stelzer warns that many European nations “are ceasing, or may have already ceased, to be our friends.” Today, “much of the psychological drive for Euro-nationalism is provided by anti-Americanism,” notes former *National Review* editor John O’Sullivan. Participating in an AEI-sponsored symposium, the Canadian pundit Mark Steyn added, “I find it easier to be optimistic about the futures of Iraq and Pakistan than, say, Holland or Denmark.”

An imminent Euro-American divorce is also envisioned in a 11,500-word essay titled “Power and Weakness” by the neo-conservative foreign policy writer Robert Kagan, which has taken on a kind of talismanic quality in Europe of late. The essay, which appeared in the Hoover Institution’s publication, *Policy Review*, has been translated and reprinted and e-mailed all across the Continent, creating something of a rude awakening for many Europeans. “It is time to stop pretending that Europeans and Americans share a common view of the world, or even that they occupy the same world,” Kagan writes. “On the all-important question of power—the efficacy of power, the morality of power, the desirability of power—American and European perspectives are diverging. . . . That is why on major strategic and international questions today, Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus: They agree on little and understand one another less and less. . . . When it comes to setting national priorities, determining threats, defining challenges, and fashioning and implementing foreign and defense policies, the United States and Europe have parted ways.”

To the degree that Kagan is correct—and many members of the European cultural and intellectual elite fear he might be, particularly regarding the perception of Europe within the once-Atlanticist US foreign-policy establishment—this is big news. Much of the history of the twentieth century can be told through the rubric of the US-European relationship. Two world wars, the cold war, most of what is considered high culture in the United States and much of our popular culture, including our best cinema and works of literature, are unthinkable without Europe’s example and influence. Until recently, so too has peace on the Continent been unthinkable without US leadership. Even today, according to Javier Solana, US-European trade remains the largest trade and investment relationship in the world, totaling roughly \$500 billion, with an estimated 6 million jobs in the United States

and Europe depending on its continued efficacy. If a divorce is genuinely in the offing, then a tectonic shift in the shape of the world will almost certainly be the result.

But is Kagan really right? Yes, if you take the unilateralist/militarist ambitions of the Bush neoconservatives and the red/green post-New Leftist worldview of the Schröder government as your templates. But there’s a great deal more to the state of transatlantic relations than the hostility of George W. Bush and his supporters toward Gerhard Schröder.

Make no mistake, anti-Americanism is a serious concern in many nations on numerous continents. But none of these are in Europe. A recent survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project found anti-US feelings on the rise in nineteen of twenty-seven nations it investigated. Virtually all the hostility, however, is found in Middle Eastern and Central Asian nations.

Of course, while Europe is making impressive, albeit uncertain, strides toward unification on many levels, the very word “Europe” remains a kind of convenient fiction. But even if you allow for nearly the entire spectrum of views, from the nonfascist right to the noncommunist left, you find virtually no support for the tone or the substance of the current Administration’s policies. Neither, however, will you find much of anything that might fairly be labeled anti-Americanism.

In September, when dismay over a growing rift between America and Europe was rife, the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations published the results of an ambitious transatlantic survey. Americans and the citizens of six European countries (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Poland) were asked about Iraq, foreign policy and one another. You’d never know it judging by the policies of their leaders, but the views and priorities of the United States and Continental populations were remarkably similar. Approximately half of both surveyed populations named global warming as a major threat to national security. (Seventy percent of Americans surveyed said the United States should sign the Kyoto Protocol even when a possible negative impact on the domestic economy was cited; and 65 percent supported US participation in the International Criminal Court even when the possibility of trumped-up charges brought against US soldiers was mentioned.) Support to strengthen the UN stood in the high seventies on both sides, and there was majority support for strengthening institutions like the WTO and NATO. Also, the citizens of these European nations think rather well of Americans. They gave America a favorability rating of sixty-four out of a hundred, just six points below that of the EU. And conversely, nearly 80 percent of Americans surveyed supported strong EU leadership in world affairs.

Where the contrast is greatest between Europeans and Americans is in their views of the US government itself.* As the survey authors note, “In contrast with people in most other countries, a solid majority of Americans surveyed think the United States takes into account the interests of other countries when making

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* Europeans and Americans also differ profoundly in their views of the Israel/Palestine issue at both the elite and popular levels. And this difference, with Americans being far more sympathetic to Israel and the Europeans to the Palestinian cause, has larger implications for other disagreements and misunderstandings. But because the question is so tangled in history, and raises such difficult issues regarding accusations of media bias, traditional European anti-Semitism, anti-Arab racism on both continents, etc., I’ve chosen to define it as beyond my mandate here, for fear of indefensible oversimplification.

international policy.” Yet with the exception of Germany, majorities of Europeans believe that George W. Bush makes decisions based entirely on US interests, with no regard for the rest of the world, according to the Pew survey.

Writing in the AEI symposium, Washington pundit Jonathan Rauch views the polling evidence described above and announces, “The real problem is European elites.” But he is exactly wrong. If you look at the numbers above, the views of European elites comport quite consistently with those of both their own and the American publics. It is not the European elites who are the problem. It is ours.

Talk of divorce between Europe and the United States was under way when 9/11 hit and served to remind both sides how many things they held in common, compared with the relatively trivial matters—or so it seemed—that tore them apart. The Continent overflowed with spontaneous symbols of what Schröder called “unconditional solidarity.” *Le Monde* ran a banner headline declaring *Nous Sommes Tous Américains*. Millions held vigils, rallies and prayer services. Fantastic amounts of money were collected. Stars and Stripes hung everywhere. And NATO’s invocation of Article 5 of its common defense treaty, as Michael Ignatieff notes, “articulated this sense of a common trans-Atlantic identity under attack.”

But the Bush Administration’s response quickly dissipated virtually all the sympathy the tragedy inspired. As Jacques Rupnik, a former adviser to both French President Jacques Chirac and Czech President Vaclav Havel, puts it, “Americans are fond of saying, ‘The world changed on September 11.’ But what has changed is America. The extraordinary moral self-righteousness of this Administration is quite surprising and staggering to Europeans.”

Even in those nations like Italy and Spain, where the current conservative governments profess to support the US policies in Iraq, the populations do not. Josep Ramoneda Molins, director of Barcelona’s Centre de Cultura Contemporània and a columnist for *El País*, informs me that opinion polls in that nation continue to demonstrate a 70 percent rate of opposition to Bush’s Iraq adventure. Bush, he notes, “has the absolute complicity of the Spanish [prime minister], but the country does not like him.”

It should go without saying that such critical views of US political behavior hardly constitute “anti-Americanism.” And perhaps I’m a lousy reporter, but aside from the odd bit of graffiti, I couldn’t find much evidence of this allegedly new strain of anti-Americanism anywhere. You could even argue that Europeans demonstrate better taste in American culture than Americans do. Everywhere I went—Paris, Madrid, Barcelona, Rome, Berlin—I found a surprising embrace of things American. The schedule for the jazz festival I just missed in Madrid would shame any American city save New York. It’s not just Springsteen shooting to number one in eleven separate countries. Woody Allen, Michael Moore and Steven Spielberg rule the cinema advertisements. Tony Soprano and Carrie Bradshaw are the talk at office water coolers. Jonathan Franzen, Jonathan Safran Foer and Colson Whitehead burn up the bestseller lists. I spied a copy of Michael Dobbs’s already-forgotten biography of Madeleine Albright

in the window of a Barcelona bookstore, next to Philip Roth’s *The Human Stain* and Joseph Stiglitz’s attack on the World Bank and the IMF. Just try finding it on Fifth Avenue.

It is not that there is no anti-Americanism at all in Europe. Virtually every European nation can point to some tradition of anti-Americanism in almost every aspect of its political and cultural life. More recently, though, leftist anti-Americanism, initially associated with powerful Marxist parties and, later, with opposition to the Vietnam War, has all but disappeared, with the partial and complicated exception of the antiglobalization movement.

Anti-Bushism, yes. There’s plenty of that. Europe is a continent whose political center of gravity remains almost as far to the left of center as America’s is to the right. The current German government governs from Wellstone/Feingold country. Even most of the conservative parties in Europe are to the left of the Democrats in this country.

Cultural issues also divide; the negative reaction to Bush in Europe feels quite visceral. It’s not as if Europeans can’t stand the idea of a conserva-

tive Republican President. To a surprising degree, they warmed to Ronald Reagan, as Alain Frachon, who writes about foreign affairs on the editorial page of *Le Monde*, explains. “When Reagan was President, we never had the impression he was motivated by fundamentalism. He was divorced. He had worked in Hollywood. But this George Bush is totally foreign to us. He quotes the Bible every two or three sentences. He is surrounded by Christian fundamentalists. He says he has no problem sleeping after sending someone to death. There was a dose of charm, humor, of Hollywood to Reagan. But not to Bush. It’s another world and one we find extraordinarily hypocritical. No one told us that the Republicans had moved this far to the right.”

Things were quite different under Bill Clinton. As Serge Halimi, the leftist editor of *Le Monde diplomatique*, the publication that is frequently accused of being the intellectual home of the anti-American worldview, argues, “The hostility to US policy would be lessened with Clinton in the White House, even assuming that these policies were exactly the same as Bush’s. Clinton’s ‘I feel your pain’ worked well in the international arena too, much better in any case than Bush’s ‘I don’t give a damn what you think.’ I assume people prefer to be lied to than they do being overtly despised.” Susan Neiman, an American who heads the Einstein Forum in Potsdam and has lived there on and off for twenty years, also draws a distinction between the European reactions to Clinton and Bush. “American leftists don’t appreciate what Clinton did,” she says. “He was the thinking person’s American Dream. Alive, unpretentious, he played the sax. For seven years in Europe, it was suddenly unbelievably cool to be American. Bush, on the other hand, is the American nightmare: a spoiled frat boy who doesn’t know or care about the rest of the world.”

What most Europeans seem to recognize is that this is a big, beautiful and damn complicated country. For every George Bush, we have a Spike Lee. For every Charlton Heston, we have a Paul Newman. For every Lee Greenwood, there’s a Lauryn Hill or a Wynton Marsalis. Globalization—which for the average European has got to be hard to distinguish from

The Bill of Rights

Amendment

establishment of religion, or
people peaceably to assemble

Amendment

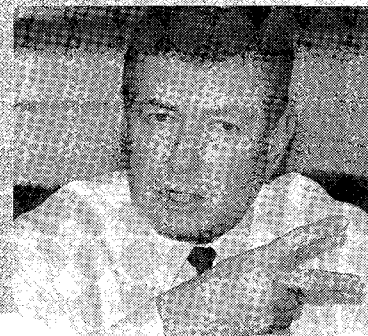
the security of a free State



THE AUTHORS

Amendment

persons, houses, papers, and effects,
in probable cause, supported by Oath or
affirmation.



THE EDITOR

For more than 200 years, the Bill of Rights has stood as a wall between governmental abuse and the rights of a free people. But John Ashcroft, driven by a radical ideology and shamelessly using the events of September 11, 2001 as a subterfuge, has systematically been dismantling that wall.

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Today, the government can monitor your Internet use, read your emails, examine your online purchases with minimal judicial oversight. Today, you can be detained without access to a lawyer, without being charged with a crime.

Today, John Ashcroft has authorized the FBI to monitor your political activities, to send agents into your house of worship.

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The American Civil Liberties Union is leading the fight to protect your rights, and to stop the Ashcroft assault on our civil liberties. Isn't that your fight too?



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Americanization—appears to evoke little resentment from those who have normally been at the forefront of opposition to the encroachment of (vulgar, materialistic) American culture in Europe. On the left-wing fringes, there's some hatred, sometimes expressed in violence against McDonald's—but the ideologues of this movement, like the famous Jose Bové, will tell you that it's really McDonald's they hate, not the nation that happens to have spawned it. *Le Monde*, the traditional home of snooty Euro-superiority, is now publishing a weekly supplement from the *New York Times* in English. Frachon tells me, "You will find America in every section of the paper. America in rock and roll, movies, in our fashion. On TV too, America is there on a daily basis. This is sometimes irritating, but we are also addicted to it. We try to fight the replacement of French with English, but I do not want to miss *The Sopranos*."

As *Le Monde diplomatique*'s Halimi explains, "We in Europe speak of resisting the United States and its market fundamentalism. We then argue that the best way to achieve this is to build a strong Europe. And then how do we go about it? By creating a single market meant to compete with the United States, a single market that, precisely, demolishes in the very process by which it is built everything that was distinct about our national models. To be more in a position to compete like the United States, we become more like the United States, as if the alternative to GM is to build another Ford."

In Germany, US-led globalization is barely an issue at all, despite the power and influence of the Greens. As one Bundestag staff member explained to me, "We do not even consider McDonald's, Starbucks or these Hollywood studios to be American anymore. They are world companies that are bigger than any nation." What's more, the Germans could not be more different from the French in their discomfort with the notion of preserving their "culture." Given the catastrophe of the Nazi period, one observer notes, "We don't think German culture is something that needs to be preserved from outside influence."

Liberal and leftist Spanish intellectuals seem to have an attitude of understanding of, if not admiration for, American capitalism. When I met Pedro Sorela, a novelist and frequent contributor to the liberal Spanish literary/political journal *Letras Libres*, in a fancy hotel bar in Madrid that is abutted on one side by a Starbucks and on the other by Planet Hollywood, he spoke rather ruefully of America's so-called masters of the universe as "bastards, but bastards who have to support their investments. Myself, I admire the United States. I don't want to marry the United States—I would like to see other films and other TV shows. Still, it's a very effective foreign-affairs policy. I like Julia Roberts and Mel Gibson."

Even though the alleged outbreak of a new anti-Americanism turns out to be a kind of journalistic mirage, the differences in the worldviews of European and US elites could still create enough friction to cause an explosion. The globalization of economic, environmental and security issues is making it more and more difficult for Europe to defend its welfare state against US efforts to impose its model on the rest of the democratic world. In its enormously controversial National Security Strategy, the Bush Admin-

istration proclaimed that the United States stood for "a single sustainable model for national success: freedom, democracy and free enterprise." In other words: World, it's our way or the highway.

What has so far prevented a Euro-American break over Iraq has not been the Bush Administration's respect for the views of its allies but its fear of a backlash at home. It seems likely that the only reason the Bush Administration even went near the Security Council before deciding to invade Iraq was because polls kept telling it that a UN endorsement was necessary for majority support. According to the German Marshall Fund survey, well over 60 percent of Americans questioned last autumn believed that a US invasion of Iraq would be justified only if approved by the UN, and 61 percent of Americans agreed that the most important lesson is that the United States needs to work more closely with other countries to fight terrorism. The Bush team was fully briefed on the results of the survey two days before the UN speech, and

changed its language accordingly. They almost certainly were not caving in to French or Russian demands in order to reaffirm the integrity of the Security Council, as many of

them give every impression of wishing it would just go away.

But even this is a tricky issue. This President presumably knows, like every President before him, that you can take America to war no matter what people think of the idea in advance, and they will support you, at least until something goes wrong. Bush & Co. were not willing to take that risk on Iraq, but they might somewhere else. What's more, war is a particularly high-profile issue and possibly unique. The Bush Administration was able to thumb its collective nose at Europe (and most of the world) regarding Kyoto, the ICC, the ABM and CBW conventions, etc., and it paid no domestic price whatsoever, despite the fact that most of these treaties and agreements enjoyed either majority or plurality support at home. The sad fact is that most Americans do not care enough about foreign policy to make their views matter to elites, and elites are more than happy to keep it that way. They may care more about global warming, international cooperation and multilateral intervention than Bush, Cheney, Wolfowitz, Rumsfeld and Perle, but they don't vote on the issue. Hence, their concerns don't, in any material sense, really matter.

Alessandro Martelli, a professor of American literature at the University of Rome, told me that in the wake of 9/11 many Europeans yearned to see Americans develop some empathy for the suffering of the rest of the world as a result of their own tragic experience. "You can hear this in *The Rising*," explains Martelli, who is one of Italy's resident Springsteen experts, "as Bruce looks beyond the boundaries of the United States with moral courage and intelligence. But instead of Bruce we have Bush. And the dominant rhetoric has been of the exceptionalism of American sorrow."

Similarly, when the war in Afghanistan began, Europeans hoped that war there "would turn the Bush Administration toward greater multilateralism," as the editors of *The Economist* put it. Once again, it appears to have done just the opposite. Jacques Rupnik characterizes the American attitude this way: "We decide what is good and we decide what is evil. If Europe

*The differences in the worldviews of
American and European elites could still
create enough friction to cause an explosion.*

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wants to follow us, fine; if not, too bad for them."

It's hard to argue that the Europeans are exaggerating. In May 2002 Colin Powell, speaking at an Air Force base in Rome, let the cat out of the bag on Bush's definition of multilateral negotiation: "He tries to persuade others why that is the correct position. When it does not work, then we will take the position we believe is correct." The "correct" position as enunciated by Bush is one of never-ending war based on the US definition of who is a friend and who is a "terrorist." Lest this sound like hyperbole, consider the following statement: "Our war with terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end...until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated." And what if America ends up alienating the entire world in the process? "At some point, we may be the only ones left," Bush told his closest advisers, according to an Administration member who leaked the story to Bob Woodward. "That's OK with me. We are America."

Virtually across the board, Europeans find this attitude dangerous, childish and ultimately counterproductive. Rupnik allows that "if terrorism were a state, and you could just flatten state X or Y and solve the problem, Europeans might say perhaps there's something in it." But as Spanish journalist Miguel Angel Aguilar, who helped found *El País* and now runs the Association for European Journalists in Madrid, explains, it is an enemy "against which sheer military might is not going to help you." Spain, he notes, has fought a home-grown terrorist movement for thirty years. "Using the army turned out to be a disaster," Aguilar observes. "We were trying to kill mosquitoes with bombs. Innocents were killed and democracy suffered and we were no safer."

Like their predecessors among "the best and the brightest" who led us into Vietnam, contemporary US leaders believe they have little to learn from the experiences of those who have faced similar quandaries. But on merely pragmatic grounds, the United States has much to gain from an alliance with Europe in the war on terrorism. As Anne Applebaum noted in *Slate*:

The cell that plotted the World Trade Center attacks was, we now know, based largely in Hamburg, Germany. The Arabs who assassinated the Afghan leader Ahmed Shah Massoud were carrying Belgian passports. Al Qaeda operatives have been discovered in Spain, in France, in Britain. To catch them, we need Europe's police forces, we need Europe's intelligence services, we need Europe's knowledge of its own growing Islamic population.... During what is going to be a war with many different phases, we will also need Europe's help in fighting some of the other, nonmilitary battles. Already Europe has pledged more than the United States toward the rebuilding of Afghanistan.... Everybody's money will be needed to help restore order, not just in Afghanistan but in Somalia and Sudan and eventually, someday, Iraq.

At home, it is perhaps too much to hope that the Bush Administration mandarins might rethink the lessons they believe themselves to have learned about the efficacy of unilateral military power. The neoconservatives are too firmly in control and the forces of multilateralism—as occasionally represented by Secretary Powell—in a constant state of retreat. The Bush neocons have decided they can proceed just fine on the basis of a shifting set of mission-specific coalitions, rather than pay any heed to concerns of traditional friends and allies.

If the Europeans hope to be able to limit America's ability to act unilaterally without concern for the world's good opinion, they will need allies in America itself. The obvious choice would be the American people, since, as survey after survey over a period of decades has demonstrated, Americans' beliefs about international issues—particularly security-related issues—are much closer to those being articulated in Brussels than in Washington.

Alas, owing to the weakness of US democratic institutions, particularly with regard to foreign affairs, these values enjoy virtually no expression in the American political system. The simplest solution to both of these problems—the lack of a committed, multilateralist partner for the Europeans and the lack of an authentic democratic voice for the American people in the conduct of foreign policy—would be for something to take place that hasn't happened in more than thirty years. It would be for the Democratic Party in the United States to develop a post-Vietnam foreign policy based on the genuine needs and desires of the American people. If the Democrats could find the courage to cast aside their tired and self-defeating me-tooism—heightened by fears of a kind of know-nothing McCarthyism employed by Republicans whenever multilateralist issues are even raised—the Europeans would have a partner for their discussions and a means to engage America in constructing a safer and more peaceful world than the Bush Administration has in mind.

The chances of this right now admittedly look slim. The *Guardian*'s Hugo Young notes that the Bush Administration does not represent a complete break from its predecessor. "Unilateralist wrecking of the Kyoto treaty and the International Criminal Court began with Clinton." But the Clintonites were merely bowing to political realities of which the Bush people are the living embodiment. Significantly, Serge Halimi suggests, "Basically, most people in Europe would like to go along with the United States. Our governing elites share the same vision of the future as yours. But they need to sell their acquiescence to the public by talking about ethics, human rights, free markets." The Democratic Party could seize both the political and moral high ground by making foreign policy, in Halimi's words, "something we agreed to collectively beforehand, something meant to make the world safe for democracy." George Bush's father, Halimi notes, was successful with his Gulf War talk of a New World Order. George W. Bush "does not believe in this talk. Nor does he fake it—or not convincingly. He loves to brag that he makes all the decisions. This makes it more difficult even to the most pro-American among us—and God knows there are plenty of those."

There is a pro-American world out there, in Europe in particular but elsewhere as well. It is just waiting for an America it can respect as well as admire. For all the intentional insults this Administration has thrown their way, our European well-wishers have not given up on what's best in us, no matter how often they feel forced to voice their frustration with the leaders our fundamentally flawed political system presents them with. The time has come for the true democrats among us, of every political stripe, to begin the arduous political and intellectual task of constructing a foreign policy that protects and defends our values as well as our people. Fortunately, it is not a task we will have to undertake alone. We remain blessed with friends and allies who, like a good spouse, know our fears and weaknesses better perhaps than even we do.

If we build it, they will come. Just ask Bruce Springsteen. ■

SETTING THEMSELVES APART IS A BIG JOB FOR MOST DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS.

You've Got Issues?

DAVID CORN

The wannabes are coming out of the woodwork. Six Democrats have announced their desire for the White House—and that number could double if all the presumed dabblers dive in. The challenge for each, of course, is differentiating himself from the competition. When it comes to brand distinction, the candidates and their keepers tend to speak in meta-terms. Joe Lieberman, with his values shtick and pro-business rhetoric, says he's a "different kind of Democrat"—echoing the phrase George W. Bush used slyly in 2000. John Kerry is Mr. Gravitas, who understands war and peace while showing hints of Massachusetts liberalism. Dick Gephardt, the experienced Midwestern pol specializing in what he would call working-family economics, is the Man from Labor. John Edwards, the new (pretty) boy on the block, is the Southern populist, a millionaire trial attorney who (shades of Grisham!) fights for "regular people." Howard Dean is Dr. Candidate—literally: a no-nonsense doctor-turned-governor from Vermont who successfully achieved healthcare for kids in his state while balancing the budget. And Al Sharpton is the wake-up, protest contender, the heir to candidate Jesse Jackson.

But what separates these guys when it comes to the issues? Are there differences that do or will matter? Primary races do not always turn on specific positions. And most of the Dems in the race are in sync with one another when it comes to the Big Picture stuff: against the Bush tax cut, for abortion rights, opposed to Social Security privatization, in favor of strengthening environmental protections. War in Iraq is a major exception—and we'll get to that. But issues do get deployed in campaigns to prove the meta-cases candidates make. Since these candidates generally agree on much, the issue differences that do exist may well become magnified. And even if the field expands, the narrow ideological scope of the contest may not change—unless Representative Dennis Kucinich, the head of the Progressive Caucus, joins in and is able to attract attention. Others waiting—or pondering—in the wings are Florida Senator Bob Graham, Connecticut Senator Christopher Dodd, Delaware Senator Joseph Biden, former senator and onetime presidential candidate Gary Hart, former Senator Carol Moseley-Braun and former NATO Comdr. Wesley Clark.

So where do the as-of-now candidates themselves see the important policy contrasts? I contacted the campaigns of the six first-wave contestants and asked how their man stood apart from the others in terms of issues. "Yikes," said Michael Briggs, the press secretary for Senator Edwards of North Carolina. "I haven't taken that close a look at all their records. There may be a few modest areas of differences on tax policy." Edwards is promoting a \$500 energy tax credit, he said, while Kerry



supports a smaller version. Moving on to a grander topic, Briggs noted that Edwards was an eager co-sponsor of the resolution authorizing Bush to declare war against Saddam Hussein when he sees fit (though Edwards has slammed Bush for managing a foreign policy of "arrogance without purpose"). But the usually hawkish Lieberman has also been a cheerleader for the war, and Gephardt embraced the authorization measure. Kerry adopted a skeptical approach to the possible war—but ended up voting

for the legislation. Dean, however, has flat-out opposed the movement toward war, explaining that he would not endorse military action unless Bush can prove Saddam possesses nuclear weapons. Sharpton, too, is a firm foe of military action.

What differentiates Gephardt?" asks a senior aide to the Congressman. "It's his experience in the decision-making process." No, no—issues, stick to issues. OK, he says, Gephardt's campaign platform will include calls for universal health insurance, universal preschool, a teachers' corps (to bring educators to rural and inner-city areas) and an Apollo-like project for renewable energy. And there's tax reform—a wonkish issue to which Gephardt has devoted much time in the past, proposing a simplification in which three-quarters or so of taxpayers would pay a low rate, maybe 10 percent, with almost no deductions (except for home mortgages and health insurance). What about trade? Gephardt battled against NAFTA. Kerry and Lieberman are free-traders who voted to grant Bush fast-track authority to negotiate unamendable trade pacts. Edwards voted against fast track, and Dean says he opposed it, adding that he's for accords that include provisions establishing environmental and labor standards. Will Gephardt trumpet his anti-NAFTA past to court labor-minded voters? "Talking about NAFTA is over," the Gephardt aide says. "Trade may come up. But he'll be talking about it in a new way, such as discussing the idea of pushing for an international minimum wage at the World Trade Organization."

Differentiation is "easy for us," says Rick Ridder, Dean's campaign manager. He shoots off three bullet points: healthcare ("he did it"); the war in Iraq ("the only candidate"—among the officeholders—"who opposed the resolution"); and the Leave No Child Behind Act ("he would have voted against it"). Dean's beef with the education bill—which required more performance-measured testing in schools—was that it created an unfunded mandate for the states (which would lead to local tax hikes) and placed too much emphasis on testing. His three Senate rivals all voted for the bill. Like most national Democrats these days, Dean, who just finished his last term as governor, talks up fiscal responsibility, and might do so most among the candidates.

(Edwards has emphasized curtailing "excessive spending," while eliminating tax breaks for special interests.) And Dean offers distinctions on two hot-button social issues. He boasts—and he does boast about it—a 100 percent rating from the National Rifle Association (though he favors extending the assault-weapons ban). And he signed the controversial legislation recognizing civil unions between gays and lesbians. Lieberman and Gephardt in 1996 voted for the Defense of Marriage Act, a device to block gay marriage; Kerry, his aides brag, was the only incumbent senator running for re-election to vote against it. (Edwards was not yet in politics.)

Lieberman's lieutenants claim his early support for a Homeland Security Department—which predated Bush's cover-your-ass embrace of the new government entity—as a leader-of-the-pack position. (Edwards has been pushing for a new domestic intelligence agency targeting terrorists, and Kerry has been an intermittent critic of the way Bush has waged the war on terrorism in Afghanistan.) The Lieberman camp proudly maintains that he was the first in the field to call for freezing the Bush tax cuts. Kerry and Edwards have taken similar stands, but Dean has urged repealing almost all of the 2001 cuts. (Gephardt, no friend of these tax cuts, ducked the issue as House minority leader.) The Lieberman gang does not openly peddle Lieberman, a past chair of the Democratic Leadership Council, as the conservative choice. "The idea that he's more conservative is a red herring," says a senior aide. "He's more independent." And it's not that he's "pro-business," this aide insists, but "pro-growth." Lieberman has been passionate about "tort reform"—of which Edwards is no fan. But the aide quickly points to Lieberman's support for a patients' bill of rights and prescription drug benefits to show he is not beholden to the insurance industry of his

home state, Connecticut. Lieberman has voiced support for school vouchers as an experiment in limited circumstances, but not as a substitute for comprehensive public education reform. Kerry voted against vouchers, and Gephardt has decried them. A few years back, Lieberman wondered aloud about partially privatizing Social Security and then, he says, decided it was a lousy idea. While not using the c-word, his team does pitch him as a fellow who, as this aide puts it, "has broken from Democratic orthodoxy." And his advisers happily acknowledge that his finger-wagging at the entertainment media for marketing violent and sleazy products does distinguish him from the others. "Tossing tough love at friends is not a Democratic strong suit," says the aide.

Kerry's crew can cite several issues that make him a standout. He is, a top Kerry aide says, "the only candidate in the field who has voted against the bankruptcy bill all the time." That was a measure sought by the credit-card industry and condemned by consumer groups. A former prosecutor, Kerry is the only contender among the officeholders who opposes the death penalty, though he has raised the prospect of supporting it for terrorists. (Dean backs capital punishment only in cases involving the murder of a child or a police officer.) Most of the candidates have environmental credentials to flash, but Kerry aides say he has been one of the best friends of the enviro lobby, advocating higher fuel-mileage standards and threatening to filibuster against oil drilling in the Alaskan wilderness. On the issues, is he a straight-out liberal? His advisers like to cite what one calls his "occasional independence and break from conventional Democratic thinking." But that independence has taken on varying guises. There was the bankruptcy-bill vote (thirty-six of fifty

TOP SECRET**THE NEW DEMOCRATS**

CANDIDATES UNDER CONSIDERATION FOR 2004

RUDOLF GIULIANI

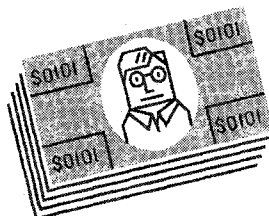
STATUS: In Mexico, but has availability for 2004
QUALIFICATIONS: Tested very well with Democrats after 9/11. Evidently will work for hire.

**TIGER WOODS**

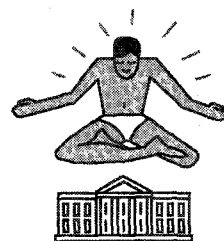
STATUS: Golf champion
QUALIFICATIONS: He wins everything else, why couldn't he win an election?

**BILL GATES**

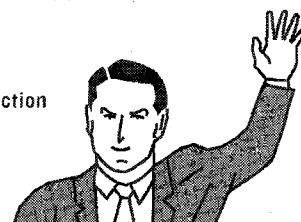
STATUS: Owns Microsoft
QUALIFICATIONS: Perfect solution to the "soft" money problem, plus he has plenty of it.

**DEEPAK CHOPRA**

STATUS: New Age media star
QUALIFICATIONS: The phrase "This country needs healing" tested very well on a recent Internet poll.

**AL GORE CLONE**

STATUS: Under construction
QUALIFICATIONS: Identical politics, improved personality, willing to run in 2004.



Democrats backed the industry-friendly measure). Then there was the time, while he was working with the DLC on an education reform package, he called for ending teacher tenure and assailed “stultifying collective-bargaining agreements” with teachers’ unions (after the Massachusetts teachers’ union had helped him win re-election). And he has called for zero capital-gains taxes on investments in certain critical technology companies. (Lieberman advocates a similar notion.) Yet in a more populist vein, Kerry has called for a payroll tax holiday on the first \$10,000 of income (\$765 for every worker). Dean calls this “completely irresponsible.”

As for Sharpton, he doesn’t face the issues differentiation problem. (His office did not return a call seeking guidance.) On a recent *Meet the Press* appearance he laid out his game plan for “fundamental change”: a \$50-billion-per-year “alternative infrastructure revival” to create jobs; the establishment of a right to healthcare and a right to education; the protection of affirmative action; no to war in Iraq. Asked why he ought to be President, Sharpton declared, “Because the United States today sits in a global village. The world, because of technology

and communication, is one village. And I, more than anyone talking about running, understand that village and, I feel, represent the priorities that the village must deal with in order to survive as a planet.” If Kerry and Lieberman end up arguing over the finer points of their education plans, Sharpton will not be at that table.

So do Democrats want an antiwar nominee who champions gay rights and gun rights? A war-on-Iraq fan who advocates raising wages overseas? A foe of capital punishment who assails the education bureaucracy? If Briggs is right in saying the “big issues differences might be pretty narrow,” perhaps the campaign will be shaped by quarreling over the proposed Yucca Mountain nuclear waste depository in Nevada (Dean and Edwards, for; Kerry and Lieberman, against). No doubt, there will be brawling over issues, votes and policy positions. The campaigns are only beginning to comb through the records and remarks of the competition. Let’s hope they find useful ammunition. The more the candidates resort to issues to reinforce their self-crafted images and to challenge those of their opponents, the better the debate will be. ■

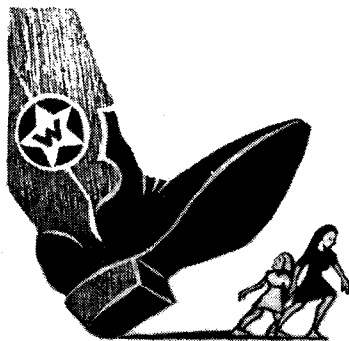
THIRTY YEARS LATER, ABORTION’S POLITICAL TERRAIN IS MORE COMPLICATED THAN EVER.

Roe in Rough Waters

JENNIFER BAUMGARDNER

Desiree was a high school senior from Buffalo who already had a 1-year-old daughter when she came to spend the night with me. She wore jeans and a huge sweatshirt, but anyone could see she was pregnant. Desiree was at twenty-one weeks and had never been to New York City. In fact, she didn’t know one person here, nor did she have money for a hotel, which is why the clinic called me. I picked her up at the end of her first day of the three-day procedure. She had been counseled about the abortion and her options. Laminaria, tubes of sterile seaweed, had been placed in her cervix in order to dilate it overnight. We ate Mexican food and then she fell asleep by the light of MTV. At 7 the next morning, we headed back to the clinic and she continued her abortion. As we entered Parkmed Eastern Women’s Center, a scary nun and toothless old man divebombed Desiree, surrounding her like autograph-seekers, begging her not to kill her baby.

Most women I have hosted are facing situations similar to Desiree’s. (I host through Haven, a loose coalition of women who provide a place to stay for people in town for what are always later-term abortions.) The women find out they are pregnant too late to get an abortion in their hometown, or they can’t raise the



money. The abortion starts out costing \$300, but by the time they get through the dangerously sticky red tape of Medicaid (if they are lucky enough to be in a state where Medicaid pays for procedures), it’s \$500—or \$2,000. (The New York Abortion Access Fund—NYAAF, founded by a recent college grad and run by a half-dozen young women—contributed to forty abortions last year, almost all of which cost between \$995 and \$3,000.) Often the woman herself has almost no money or spent it getting to New York, and the clinician has to call around to various funds that will pick up part of the cost of an abortion. It can take days and a half-dozen calls for the clinician to get the money together. Haven and these funds are a sort of underground railroad for abortions—the irony being that abortion is legal and a woman’s right.

This month, abortion has been legal for thirty years. The terrain has become increasingly complex. The same moment the planets aligned so that conservatives had a monopoly on government, the Alan Guttmacher Institute announced that abortion rates had declined—dramatically. In 1992 the AGI predicted that 43 percent of American women would have an abortion before the age of 45. Basically, the abortion rate was pushing 50 percent. A decade later, the number was one in three. Due to population growth, this still means just over 1.3 million abortions per year, but it’s the lowest abortion rate in twenty-nine years. Six percent are medical abortions (RU-486); the rest are surgical.

The fact that the abortion rate has dropped is that rare thing:

Jennifer Baumgardner, a frequent Nation contributor, is at work with Amy Richards on a book called Recipe-Tested: An Idea Bank for Real Activism. Research support for this article was provided by the Investigative Fund of the Nation Institute.

good news for both those who wave gory photos of 21-week-old fetuses and those who wave signs that read *GEORGE, GET OUT OF MY BUSH!* After all, pro-choicers want women to have the tools that make the need for abortion minimal. "We'd prefer women have adequate contraception to control reproduction," says Lauren Porsch, a 23-year-old staffer at Physicians for Reproductive Choice and Health and founder of NYAAF. "It's cheaper, easier on the woman, less painful all around." (Most pro-choicers see abortion ideally as a backup, since 54 percent of women getting abortions report that they were using birth control the month they got pregnant. Desiree was on the pill when she got pregnant.)

The decline coincided with the approval of emergency contraception in 1998 (the AGI estimates that 51,000 abortions were averted by the use of EC in 2000 alone, and Planned Parenthood distributed 459,000 doses to women in 2000) and eight years of President Clinton, who vetoed almost every piece of antichoice legislation that crossed his desk. Ironically, though, the down-trend in unwanted pregnancies is poised to be reversed. If successful, the Republican agenda is sure to pave the way for more late-term abortions like Desiree's.

Until recently, it was more likely the Bush Administration would do something sneaky, like remove crucial information about condoms from the Centers for Disease Control website, rather than launch overt assaults on choice. Meanwhile, it was the Democrats' role, with their slim majority in the Senate, to keep bans and restrictions at bay after they passed the House. And they succeeded. As Ken Connor, president of the Family Research Council, put it colorfully in the *New York Times*, the 107th Senate

was "a veritable graveyard of pro-life legislation." As of January 7, though, when the 108th Congress convened, the Senate has been primed to become a veritable "pro-life" birthing center.

En route to swift delivery is a ban on "partial-birth" abortions, a ban on human embryonic cloning, the Child Custody Protection Act, the Abortion Non-Discrimination Act and the Unborn Victims of Violence Act. Each bill is notably uninterested in protecting the woman's rights, worrying instead about the fetus, the pregnant woman's parents (if she's a minor) and the religious healthcare worker. (This value system was reinforced on January 14, when George W. Bush declared National Sanctity of Human Life Day for the following Sunday.) There isn't a lot of reason to believe that these proposals, which have all passed in the House before, won't clear the new Senate in the near future.

"These are the worst threats I have ever seen in thirty years of this work," says Gloria Feldt, the president of Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA). Within days of winning back the Senate and keeping the House, Republicans made their first moves on reproductive freedom. Mississippi's Trent Lott, then poised to become Senate majority leader, promised a ban on late-term abortions, a gift to conservative Christians in his party. After Lott was forced to resign due to his sudden endorsement of affirmative action on Black Entertainment Television, Dr. Bill Frist of Tennessee stepped into his cowboy boots. Dr. Frist, a dashing cardiovascular surgeon from a state that flunks NARAL's contraceptive-access report card, is just as conservative as Lott and brings with him the added ammo of being a doctor, as he made clear during the "partial birth" abortion wars of 1998 (soon to be reprised). "As a physician," he remarked at the time of President Clinton's veto of a ban on D&X (intact dilation and extraction, or so-called partial birth) procedures, "I believe that partial-birth abortions cannot and should not be categorized with other medical procedures—or even other abortions.... For the sake of women, their children and our future as a society, we must put a stop, once and for all, to partial-birth abortion." His press release urges the Senate to "listen to the facts"—facts on which he, the only MD in the bunch, presumably has a grip. As a heart surgeon, though, Dr. Frist is not a medical expert on matters of reproduction any more than a gynecologist is well versed in angioplasty. The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (representing 95 percent of the field) believes a ban of the D&X abortion procedure to be "inappropriate" and "dangerous."

Recently, Dr. Frist did the Sunday morning talk-show circuit, confidently discussing a ban on D&X procedures as if it were already in the bag. But as PPFA's Gloria Feldt points out, "The Republicans could overreach and fail." Advocates "out in the field are not despairing at all; they are angry." Feldt also notes that the general public is "connecting the dots in terms of the Administration's war on women." As far as the D&X ban goes, Feldt believes that the 2000 *Stenberg v. Carhart* Supreme Court decision (which held that bans on abortion procedures without an exception for the health of the mother are in violation of *Roe*) is helpful. "There will be an argument within the Republican leadership between those who will want a bill that they know to be constitutional and those who will want to be more extreme," Feldt told me. "They may kill their own chances and not make it constitutional. This type of legislation gives us the opportu-

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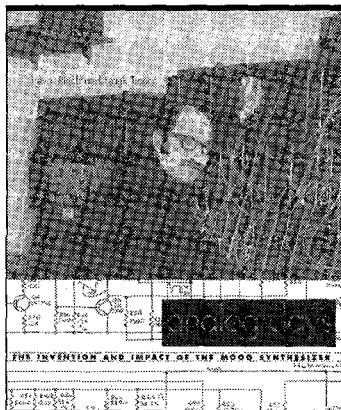
nity to lay the case for laws to codify principles of *Roe*."

Planned Parenthood reports that Dr. Frist has voted to "limit or deny access to the constitutional right to abortion services of women in the military, women federal employees, low-income women, women in prison and young women. He never missed an opportunity to vote to make abortion a right that more and more women cannot exercise." It will come as no surprise, then, that Frist is a big-time proponent of abstinence-only sex education, voting for a \$75 million budget to lobby teenagers not to have sex in lieu of acknowledging that many do and providing them with information and contraception. This, when poor teenagers have an abortion rate that is rapidly rising.

Dr. Frist and the anti-sex education crowd are clearly speaking to an imaginary teen population. There is a direct relationship between poverty and abortion, and an utter ignorance about sex and procreation is epidemic. This especially has an impact on later-term abortions. "The women I see can't get any healthcare to determine how pregnant they are and often don't know their own cycle. Sometimes, by the time they get their Medicaid straightened out and can come in, they are at twenty-seven weeks," says a counselor at Parkmed Eastern Women's Center, sighing. "Last week I told a woman with six children living in a shelter that she is having number seven."

The reproductive rights movement needs to amplify the voices of the women affected by Republican bans on Medicaid for abortions, bans that result in the death of more-developed fetuses and untold hardships for the women and their families. Instead, we have too frequently reached out to a stereotypical "young woman" who is clueless, ungrateful and often in need of a "wake-up call." In fact, of the ninety-seven funds under the National Network of Abortion Funds, many are staffed by younger women. Both Haven and NYAAF are run by 23-year-olds, NOW-NYC by a 27-year-old. Planned Parenthood's VOX program (on many campuses) and most of the work on choice that the Feminist Majority does (also on college campuses) is run entirely by young women, as is Choice USA and the Pro-Choice Public Education Project. "Face it, younger women are the ones that are having abortions," says Amy Richards, 32, who administered an abortion fund through the Third Wave Foundation until just this past year. "And they are coming to abortion politics through personal experience—just as it was thirty years ago."

Real men and women raised with *Roe* have complex responses to abortion, as they do with many once black-and-white issues that 1970s feminists tackled three decades ago. Prior to *Roe*, an estimated 200,000 to 1.2 million illegal abortions were performed each year, according to the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy. About 10,000 women in the United States died annually from complications from illegal abortions. *Roe* unquestionably liberated my generation of women to enjoy freer lives than our mothers did. For those of us who never knew a time when abortion wasn't safe and legal, we have the privilege of having complicated feelings about abortion. "I consider myself antiabortion but prochoice," says Mark Andersen, a 43-year-old author and activist in Washington, DC. A devoted Catholic vegan who doesn't even eat honey "for fear of causing problems for the bees," Andersen nonetheless votes for prochoice, Democratic candidates. "I think that the left has the pro-life platform overall, because it is



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concerned with the most vulnerable. Rick Santorum, for instance, isn't a pro-life candidate as a whole—just when it comes to the preborn.”

Andersen's view is progress, in a way, as is writer Elizabeth Wurtzel's when she says that her abortion was a sad and nasty experience from start to finish. After all, if we have to put a fresh and smiling face on everything we do—even if the procedure is constantly under attack by the right—then we haven't come far from the days of the *Stepford Wives*. Wurtzel and Anderson want *better* choices for women, not fewer. Still, such complexity poses a challenge to the prochoice movement when it is accompanied by greater tolerance for abortion restrictions. Several surveys, notably the UCLA study of incoming freshmen, have reported a decline in the proportion of those who support abortion rights.

The left isn't always the firmest ally of reproductive freedom, either. In a 1989 cover story for *Ms.* magazine, just before *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* almost overturned *Roe* and ushered in the state's right to restrict abortions, Gloria Steinem insisted that we look at choice as a human right, not a “‘single issue’ to be bargained away.” Sadly, some on the left have cast abortion as a kind of distraction, the inconvenient reason we are (fearfully, shortsightedly) tethered to otherwise compromised Democratic candidates.

Clearly, however, our big problem is the conservative Republican government and its veritable free pass to spawn confusingly named antichoice laws—laws that will affect poor women, young women and women of color most harshly because they are the most vulnerable and because they are the ones getting abortions. Poor women—whether teens or adults—are the only group whose abortion rate is rising. Black women are overrepresented when it comes to abortion, with a rate nearly four times that of white women. Latinas and Asian/Pacific Islander women have an abortion rate about two and a half times that of white women. It's illus-

trative to walk into a clinic in New York—“almost all of our patients are women of color,” says the director of counseling for Parkmed Eastern Women's Center. And they're poor.

If Republicans don't quake in their boots at the thought of feminists coming after them, they are vulnerable as racists. Dr. Frist may not have openly pined for the plantation days, but he is from Tennessee, a state with a relatively large African-American population that has 13.5 percent of its population in poverty—constituents he is supposed to represent.

But for abortion to be perceived as a race and class issue, not just a white women's issue, the choice movement needs to represent—or at least connect with—the women getting abortions, who are the natural activists. The voices of young women, women of color and especially poor women (often also young women of color) tend not to inform abortion politics. You rarely find many women of color in prochoice organizations, especially on the boards. Whether the group is as huge as Planned Parenthood or as small as the New York Abortion Access Fund, you can almost bank on the fact that white women run it and black women (and to a lesser degree Latinas) are the “beneficiaries.” Some current strategies of the prochoice movement, from focusing on the clueless young straw woman to NARAL's recent name change (to NARAL Pro Choice America, a moniker designed to appeal to mainstream—white, middle-class—America), aren't speaking to the women getting abortions, either. “It goes all the way back to Jane Roe,” says Matthea Marquart, 27, the president of NOW-NYC. “If she had been a higher-income woman, she would have gone to Mexico to get an abortion.”

“We are the real experts,” feminists declared back when abortion was illegal. They took the debate out of the hands of men (doctors, judges and legislators) and put it in their own. Thirty years later, the most powerful feminist line on choice can't be forgotten: Decisions governing abortion should be made by the women getting the abortions. ■

LETTERS

C O N T I N U E D

(Continued From Page 2)

with the Office of National Drug Control Policy that buying occasional “dime bags” of marijuana supports terrorism. Letters like those of John Browner, Sandra Schachat, Susan Bright, Matthew Landkammer, Charles Monroe-Kane and Robert Field suggest to us that most of our readers don't either. They seem to agree that the way to fight bad speech is with better speech. We hope that on reflection Donald Hodel, Chris Kirshbaum and others who have objected to our running this ad, after weighing the pros and cons, will reconsider. THE EDITORS

CAN'T YOU ALL JUST GET ALONG?

Eugene, Ore.

■ I'm not going to name names here, but if the shoe fits... This bickering among current and ex *Nation* writers is neither productive nor amusing. In fact, it's extremely destructive. If I were managing your magazine, I'd insist that columns focus on the issues that concern us all

rather than internecine sniping. And I would not publish the kinds of long-winded rants that have been appearing in your Letters section.

I read *The Nation* to obtain a better understanding of what's going on in our society and for, perhaps, a flicker of hope that we can improve our lot. If I were interested in the kinds of personal attacks that fill your pages lately, I'd tune in to one of the right-wing talk shows. Your writers need to cover the story—they themselves are not the story.

I went to see Odetta perform recently. She said something very wise, which I'll paraphrase: You might not agree with one another about everything, but you need to work together to turn this country around. We can't begin to build any kind of movement if those who should be helping to light the way can't even speak civilly to each other. I don't care who gets the last word—or who's “right.” Get rid of your egos and spend your creative talents actually creating something useful. PETER HARLAN

Grand Junction, Colo.

■ During these foul times in America, with a far right, silverspooned, demi-automaton as President obsequiously served by a B-movie cast of old party hacks (albeit dangerous ones), the liberal/progressive unsilent minority is attacking each other in public—backbiting, catfighting and snitching—just when it is least needed. It is obviously counterproductive and divisive. After all, we are, are we not, more or less on the same side? DENIS HANLON

THE EDITORS REPLY

New York City

■ Amen.

VICTOR NAVASKY
KATRINA VANDEN HEUVEL

CREDIT WHERE CREDIT IS DUE

■ Ellen Weinstein created the illustration for last week's “Rough Riders: Bush at Half-Term” cover, as well as several inside drawings.

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Forced to Bowl Alone?

PALMA J. STRAND

DOWNSIZING DEMOCRACY: How America Sidelined Its Citizens and Privatized Its Public.

By Matthew A. Crenson and Benjamin Ginsberg.
Johns Hopkins. 294 pp. \$29.95.

Being a citizen in America today feels a bit like being the student at the bottom of the class. We are continually reminded of how we are falling down on the job. Not enough of us vote. Not enough of us go to meetings, write letters, join clubs and other organizations. Too many of us don't participate. Too many of us have forsaken the public for the private. The result of our neglect is that our social capital, our civic capacity, the sustaining fibers of our democracy, are fraying. We are letting the rest of the class, the rest of the school, down.

Stretching back to Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* is an awareness of the connection between how we act in our everyday lives and America's institutions and overall character as a democratic society and culture. Tocqueville's specific observations about our national character—as joiners and belongers, for example—remain a reference point to this day. But his underlying interest was in exploring how America's democratic ethos affected a wide spectrum of American life—from religion to the arts, from war to relations between the sexes.

The current rap about our defects as citizens reaffirms the existence of a connection between what citizens do in their everyday lives and the vigor of American democracy. But now causation seems to be running in the opposite direction: The focus is less on how our democracy affects us and more on how what we do affects it.

At the most basic level, even our most prominent political institutions—up to and

including the Constitution, the Congress, the Presidency and the courts—could not continue without the buy-in of “We the People.” There's an Emperor's New Clothes dynamic here: Our political institutions retain their legitimacy only so long as we accord it to them.

Going a step farther, the viability of democratic institutions requires that citizens go beyond simply acknowledging the legitimacy of those institutions: It requires that they act as citizens. If citizens don't vote, if they don't learn and practice the skills of citizens, if they don't tune in and participate as members of the public, then the formalities of a democracy don't count for much. Citizens are what sustains a democracy.

Enter Matthew Crenson and Benjamin Ginsberg's recent book, *Downsizing Democracy*. At a superficial level, its message is just one voice in the chorus: Citizens

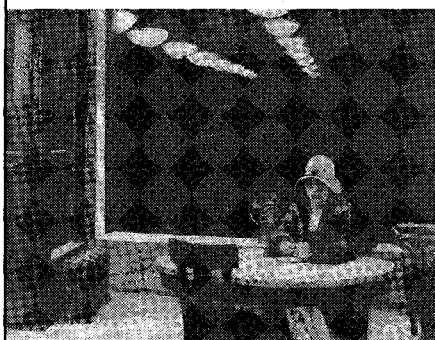
Over time, citizens have been demobilized, privatized and marginalized by fundamental changes in how the government operates.

have given way to consumers; the collective American public has devolved into an aggregation of private individuals. But listen more closely, and you'll hear the authors singing a different song. Instead of pointing the finger at citizens, *Downsizing Democracy* makes the case for the quite different proposition that over time citizens have been demobilized, privatized and ultimately marginalized by fundamental changes in how our institutions of government operate.

Crenson and Ginsberg offer blunt criticisms of a range of actions and interactions that they view as problematic. They contend that the push for “service learning” as civic education reflects the idea that people should simply provide services themselves rather than work collectively to induce government to provide them as a public good. The authors delineate a connection between the mobilization of community service “volunteers” and the demobilization of citizens for political purposes. They lament

Palma J. Strand is a fellow and teaches at the Georgetown University Law Center. She is co-founder of the Arlington Forum, a local civic-organizing initiative.

American Radicals



Existential America

George Cotkin

"As a richly detailed account of the reception of existentialism in America, this book is unequalled."—Hazel E. Barnes, American translator of Sartre's *Being and Nothingness*
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the call for litigated justice in the form of reparations for slavery as "[disaggregating] a morally coherent demand into 20 million private claims, as though the historical crimes of a nation against a race could be redeemed by cash indemnities." They condemn privatization of public services both for diminishing accountability and for substituting profit for the public interest as the primary goal.

But Crenson and Ginsberg reject the view that these changes result from deficiencies in the populace. They point instead to a shift in how government relates to its citizens—from taking responsibility for meeting the public's expectations to "managing" the public so as to control its expectations in the first place. If this emphasis wasn't clear before, it became so late this past summer when the Bush Administration openly mounted a public relations campaign aimed at selling to the American public the need for America to wage war against Iraq.

How did this shift come about? Crenson and Ginsberg document how in several key areas—administration, finances and military strength—our government has changed: It has shifted from needing the active support of citizens to being able to get what it needs without much citizen initiative or action at all. Unlike in earlier days of the Republic, government programs today are administered by civil service "experts"; citizen-employees selected through political patronage but with strong ties to their fellow citizens are passé. Taxes are automatically withheld rather than needing to be paid by affirmative taxpayer action. The military is well-paid, well-trained and all-volunteer; citizen-soldiers are no longer needed or, precluding war, wanted.

These and other reforms may have made government more efficient and more effective; they have also made it less democratic. Administration, money and armies were traditionally ways for citizens to gain power and concessions from government. Military service, for example, has historically been tied to more consideration for those who fight. As recently as the Vietnam era, a constitutional amendment extended the vote to 18-year-olds as a result of their being included in the military draft.

Downsizing Democracy also details how major innovations in process over the past century have reduced the need for political elites to mobilize citizens in order to achieve their own ends. The proliferation of administrative agencies has provided direct access to government for those with the wherewithal to act as bureaucratic stakeholders. The opening up of the courts to public-

interest litigation has allowed those who can bring suit to enact policy judicially with fewer resources and less political support than would be required to enact policy legislatively. The massive transfer of governmental functions to private contractors has led to a "shadow government" in which private firms have privileged access to power.

Some of these innovations are associated with the political left, others with the right. But the overriding effect, according to Crenson and Ginsberg, is the virtual disfranchisement of those Americans who can't afford postmaterialist politics. Moreover, both major parties focus on activating their tried-and-true bases rather than on grassroots mobilization of the tuned-out mass of citizens (who might not vote as desired anyway).

So, *Downsizing Democracy's* rap on today's citizens isn't that we're bad dancers; it's that nobody's asking us to dance. Historically, either the government or political elites did the asking. But now it seems that they just want to dance with each other.

Downsizing Democracy's message is a welcome corrective to what has been a stampede in recent years toward blaming citizens. Witness Robert Putnam's discussion of democracy in *Bowling Alone*, in which he cites the famous Pogo line, "We have met the enemy and he is us." How we act is affected by how our government treats us, the processes for influencing decision-making that are available to us and the societal structures that provide us with more or less time, resources, incentive and opportunity to venture into the public sphere. And this does call for some soul-searching about whether government actions that seem justified—as legal, expedient, cheap, in our "national interest" or simply familiar and traditional—may all the same be antidemocratic and therefore unwise.

But I don't think this lets citizens off the hook. Reading this book, I found myself wondering whether the portrayal of political elites and mobilized masses was really that accurate in a country with a substantial (though arguably besieged) middle class. Are we all either political elites with vast amounts of resources and access or demobilized masses with little of either? Aren't most of us somewhere in the middle—with some resources and some access? Many middle-class citizens who can't muster what it takes to participate in a specialized federal rule-making or to intervene in a complicated litigation can muster what it takes to make a difference in their church, their workplace or their child's school.

So why don't they? Why don't we?

In my own community of Arlington, Virginia, where for several years I've been

working on a local civic-organizing initiative to strengthen the civic dimension of the lives of the people who live and work here, I see several answers to this question. One is that a significant number of citizens—especially those toward the upper end of the socioeconomic scale—have learned to work the system to get what they need. As Crenson and Ginsberg observe, “The American upper middle class practices what we have called personal democracy with great effect.” This is true but less clear-cut than may first appear: When you’ve had to fight to get your own kids into honors classes, you may not be inclined to fight for other kids as well. Another answer is that many citizens have grown accustomed to being wallflowers; they have learned to be helpless. Yet another is that people are too busy with their “real lives”—earning a living, taking care of their kids, helping out their neighbors.

But I think the most powerful answer is that most of us don’t think of our civic role as being relevant to our “real lives,” and we don’t think of what we do in our “real lives” as being political. We think of the civic/political role as something separate—voting in an election, going to a meeting, volunteering at the local homeless shelter. And all too often, it’s an election in which other people have framed the issues and chosen the candidates. It’s a meeting called by other people to further their agenda. It’s volunteering organized by other people to provide services that they’ve decided should be provided. So it’s not all that surprising that citizens would think of enhancing this dimension of their lives as something extra, as an add-on, as burdensome “outreach.”

A different way to think of democracy is as a set of principles about how people should live and work together—principles that can help guide our everyday lives and transform our everyday institutions. In this view, democracy is about bringing our democratic ethos into our workplaces, schools, neighborhoods, faith communities and homes, and recognizing what we do there as political and important to the whole. When we do this, our civic role informs all of our other roles, and we monitor what we do by holding ourselves and each other to democratic standards—asking such questions as:

“Are we treating everyone with equal respect?”

“Who’s not here who should be?”

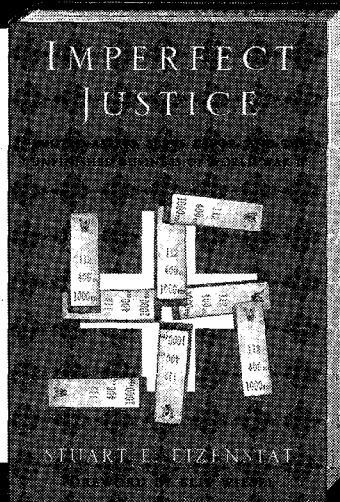
“Has everyone had a say in setting the agenda?”

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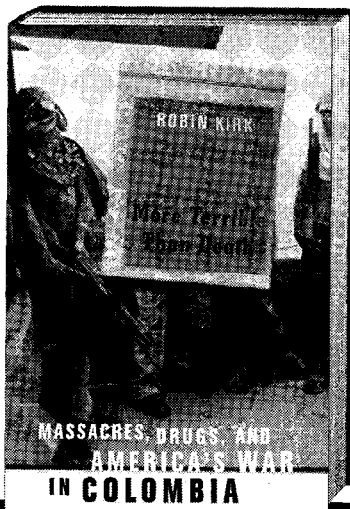
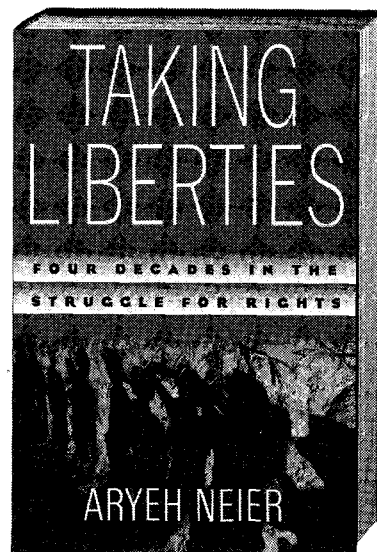
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and contributing to moving forward?"

This way of thinking about democracy leads to what Peg Michels, co-founder of the Civic Organizing Foundation (the national group with which my local initiative is affiliated), calls "inreach." Inreach is acknowledging a civic role in our daily lives and the institutions with which we interact. Inreach brings to our daily politics the awareness that every institution is part of a larger civic infrastructure needed to support democracy. Inreach is about beginning to ask the democracy-based questions on a recurring basis, finding others who share democratic values and ultimately working together to transform the institutions within which we live our lives. Inreach, in other words, is about organizing, and it can lead to civic schools, civic businesses, civic churches—even civic governments.

This everyday democracy is accessible to many, many more people than the formal democracy that we're used to thinking about. It leads to people integrating their civic, political selves with the other parts of their lives. And it's a kind of democracy that frees people to take the initiative, to say "let's dance," and to start dancing.

All well and good, but how exactly does this grassroots, bottom-up democracy fit with the structural, top-down democracy that Crenson and Ginsberg are discussing? There's one hint in *Downsizing Democracy*. In describing two approaches followed by community action agencies given grants under the Johnson Administration, Crenson and Ginsberg note that one group of agencies took as their mission the organizing of poor people to increase their political power. Another group focused on service delivery aimed at individuals. The commitment to organizing and political mobilization in the first group led to "an extensive array of changes in local institutions that served the poor—from public schools to social service agencies. They were, for example, more likely to hire minority personnel, more likely to offer services beneficial to poor people." The goal of providing services in the second group, however, was associated with "almost no evidence of institutional change."

There's a lot more public money spent today to provide services to people than to help those same people organize themselves to work to transform the institutions that they serve and that serve them into more responsive, more integrated and ultimately more democratic entities. There is a lot more money being spent on outreach than on inreach.

The formal democracy that *Downsizing Democracy* describes and the everyday

democracy that Tocqueville chronicled and that civic organizing is about are bound to each other in a mutual relationship. Each affects the other; the relationship is complex and multilayered, and both are animated by a permeating democratic ethos—or weakened by its absence. Crenson and Ginsberg have taken an important step in identifying and describing that relationship, and their work calls us to pay attention to whether institutional processes today support or undermine everyday democracy.

It is also important that we recognize the specificity of their analysis, which focuses primarily on process-related institutional structures, and extend our critical eye further. Many seemingly non-process related government actions, for instance, are not normally examined through a democracy lens. To give but one concrete example, government actions and policies have helped to create an American housing market that is highly segregated by race and stratified by income. Through development and transportation subsidies, banking practices, local taxation and funding policies, and a marked deference to local jurisdictional boundaries, government has nudged people in the direction of setting themselves apart rather than mixing themselves in. Though not often discussed in these terms, such policies operate to narrow people's everyday democratic experiences.

There are also antidemocratic government practices that are so deeply ingrained that we hardly think of them at all. One example is our practice of politically gerrymandering single-member, winner-take-all legislative districts—which arguably leave many voters casting pointless votes in elections that were effectively decided by districting, or having little chance of aggregating their votes with others of like mind to elect someone they feel to be their candidate of choice. Another is our constitutional structure itself, with the Electoral College and representation in the Senate being perhaps the most obvious antidemocratic features. As Robert Dahl observed recently in *How Democratic Is the American Constitution?*, "Public discussion that penetrates beyond the Constitution as a national icon is virtually nonexistent.... The Constitution as a whole is rarely tested against democratic standards."

Another worthwhile avenue of investigation would be the relationship between two centuries of excluding some groups from political power and the character of our democratic experience today. *Downsizing Democracy* describes how one of the causes of the creation of interest groups during the Progressive Era was the political

parties' ignoring the issues of three marginalized groups—farmers, women and blacks. Similarly, the civil rights movement led the way toward judicial policy-making, because legislative avenues were not open to African-Americans. Antidemocratic innovations may be interwoven with inadequate political access for the full range of citizens. In this regard, as in others, we should view Crenson and Ginsberg's work as exploratory rather than comprehensive.

A last reflection: My experiences as a citizen in my own community's institutions have given me a much different understanding of issues of democracy than I would have gained from even the most comprehensive theoretical or sociological study alone. I offer the suggestion that a "reflective practitioner" approach may be particularly useful for grappling with the intellectual, theoretical and legal issues that arise in structuring—and practicing—our democracy. ■

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CARAMELO. By Sandra Cisneros. Knopf. 443 pp. \$24.

Genealogy rules Latino literature tyrannically. Is this as it should be? Among many of our authors, fiction is a device used to explore roots. There are exceptions to the rule, of course, but a battalion of novels published within the past decade is about... what else if not multigenerational sagas, where ancestry becomes the clue to solving the mystery. You find it in the narratives of Victor Villaseñor and Cristina García, in Rosario Ferré and in the Chilean-cum-Latina Isabel Allende, and in scores of others too. How many more Buendía-like family trees are readers capable of handling? (Gabriel García Márquez, by the way, turns 75 this year, and the thirty-fifth birthday of his masterpiece, *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, has just taken place.)

Genealogical odysseys among Latinos are often called "magical realist" for lack of a better term. People, out of laziness, simply attach the exotic and the supernatural to the Hispanic imagination. Lewis Carroll had more magic than anything likely to appear in Juan Carlos Onetti's mythical Santa María, but I'm afraid that doesn't matter. Uruguay is a land of enchantment, isn't it? By virtue of their mongrel self, minorities—ethnic, racial, linguistic—in the United States are propelled to rethink their status constantly. Who am I? How do I fit into this context, being infused, as I am, by another set of cultural motifs? And where on earth—literally and metaphorically—is home? Latinos are attuned to these questions in particular. *El hogar*, how might I define it? The answer, in fiction, comes in the form of transgenerational adventures: uno, dos, tres... sagas in every shape and form. Their ethos is different from the Maccondo model's, though. García Márquez's Buendías are not, for the most part, migrants. They are born and bred in the exact same coastal corner of the world. In other words, the land was theirs before they were the land's. In the literature of Latinos in the United States, the soil is not ours, at least not fully. Ours is a drive to make it our own.

Think of Elena Poniatowska, the famed Mexican journalist of Polish ancestry

whose masterpiece on the Tlatelolco student massacre of 1968 is a classic. She has also produced a superb novel about a female *criada*, *Here's to You, Jesusa*, as well as a multilayered novel about Italian photographer Tina Modotti. Poniatowska's work is always political. Her characters exemplify the gender and class struggles that consume them, and their actions are at the crossroads where power and consent collide. A few years ago, Poniatowska explained to me the difference between a Chicana author and a female Mexican one: "The first one, Ilan, introduces herself thus: '*Hola, mi nombre es Soila Fulanita. Soy chicana y lesbiana.*' The second one, instead, is rather naïve: '*Hola, me llamo Dulce de Gracia.*' No national reference is given, no gender, no ideology." The difference, Poniatowska insinuated, pertains to more than a mere how-do-you-do. It colors life in the United States altogether in shades of green, white and red, the colors of the Mexican flag. Thus, it also outlines the branches of the genealogical crusade.

Poniatowska's *norteña* friend Sandra Cisneros recently published a long-awaited novel. It is a lavish, richly textured meditation on family and culture as perceived shrewdly by a Celaya "Lala" Reyes, the rebellious and verbose daughter of a middle-class Mexican clan in a condition—mental, physical—of constant mutation. Over the past decade, since Vintage reprinted her coming-of-age novella *The House on Mango Street*, Cisneros has become the favorite Latina author of her generation. Her life, her color preferences and her Frida Kahlo manners are the subject of legends, and also of heated debates. I've used the word Latina. Should I have used Chicana, instead? She is of a generation that struggled to break the semantic abyss between the two: Chicana (that is, Mexican-American, but with a political twist) by origin, Latina by the proximity to others whose ancestry is from the Caribbean, Mexico, Central and South America.

Caramelo emphasizes the universal by pointing to the particular. The book is dedicated, as its last sentence states, "*a la Virgen de Guadalupe, a mis antepasados.* May these stories honor you all." There are scores of *virgenes* in the Hispanic world, each with its mood and preferences. But all of them are the same, too: La Virgen, the metaphor of metaphors—a vigilant Mother whose eyes never stop watching over her children. Likewise, the plot of *Caramelo* might be about a single Mexican clan, but Cisneros evidently aims it to be about the millions who "leave their homes and cross borders illegally" all over the world.

The structure of the novel isn't innovative. It begins on Route 66, on a family trip to Acapulco, and it ends in another trip, one of reminiscence. Transitions, transitions... Lala's consciousness is explored through pop-cultural references. Chapters are suffused with references to and quotations from songs, movies and stars famous and infamous, *telenovelas* and, less frequently, historical events and figures. Marlon Brando, Pedro Infante, Libertad Lamarque, Emilio "El Indio" Fernández. All inspire a passing comment, an insight into aesthetic and historical trends. Raquel Welch, for instance, who, as it happens, was Raquel Tejeda, parades through the pages, "and she's Latina." (Cisneros argues: "We would've cheered if we'd known this back then, except no one knew it except Raquel Tejeda. Maybe not even Raquel Welch.") Lala takes pride in commenting on the cultural galaxy of gods and goddesses. Their abundance might feel obsessive, but therein, I think, lies the point. The protagonists are alive in that ethereal homeland that is the consumerism of ethnic culture. Where else might one be at home, *en casa*, if not in these referents?

As *Caramelo* progresses, the reader is brought into the awareness not only of Lala but also of her forefathers and foremothers, and the door is open for us to witness domestic feuds. At times it feels as if we're keeping company with a contemporary, upwardly mobile version of Steinbeck's Joads. Whereas they started in a farm near Sallisaw, Oklahoma, and end up outside Tulare, in the center of California, about 200 miles north of Los Angeles, the Reyes family is more peripatetic: Chicago to San Antonio to Mexico City (described by one, in an affront to Buenos Aires, as "the Paris of the New World"). Their journey covers far more miles, for they aren't transients but, instead, veritable migrant souls. This is not, as in *The Grapes of Wrath*, a struggle between destiny and conviction. Cisneros isn't interested in large

Ilan Stavans is the Lewis-Sebring Professor in Latin American and Latino Culture at Amherst College. His book The Poetry of Pablo Neruda will be published in May by Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

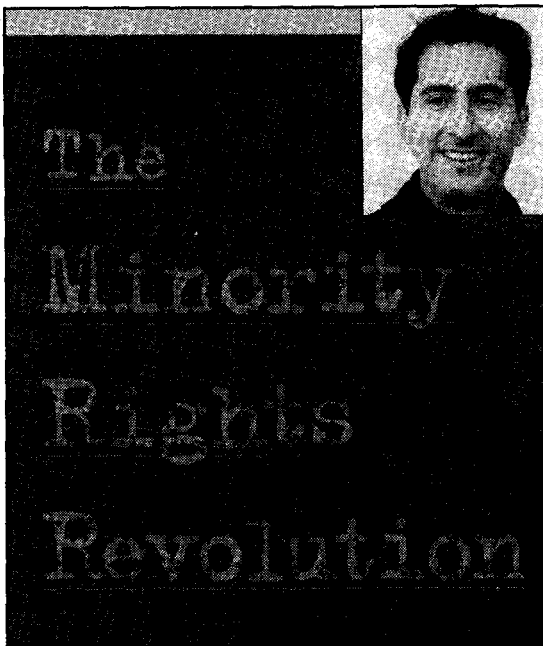
philosophical questions. Still, the Reyes family is equally at the heart of the American Dream—a dream deferred, no doubt; a different dream.

Curiously, the pages of *Caramelo* are nearly devoid of literary references. No connection is forged between Lala, ever an iconoclast, and the universe of intellectuals. Instead, it is music and the silver and small screens that become the fountainhead of imagery. Garrison Keillor once observed that the generation that matured in the 1970s and '80s replaced personal memories with TV notes. If so, Lala is sublime proof. The scenes that build the story line have a fabricated feel to them, albeit by contrivance. This is because, as in the case of Ana Castillo, one of Cisneros's sources of influence, the soaps, the ubiquitous *telenovelas*, represent a storytelling paragon. In a footnote, Cisneros even points out that

a famous chronicle of Mexico City stated Mexicans have modeled their storytelling after the melodrama of a TV soap opera, but I would argue that the *telenovela* has emulated Mexican life. Only societies that have undergone the tragedy of a revolution and a near century of inept political leadership could love with such passion the *telenovela*, storytelling at its very best since it has the power of a true Scheherazade—it keeps you coming back for more. In my opinion, it's not the storytelling in *telenovelas* that's so bad, but the insufferable acting.

The Mexicans and Russians love *telenovelas* with a passion, perhaps because their twin histories confirm la Divina Providencia the greatest *telenovela* screenwriter of all, with more plot twists and somersaults than anyone would ever think believable. However, if our lives were actually recorded as *telenovelas*, the stories would appear so ridiculous, so naïvely unbelievable, so preposterous, ill-conceived, and ludicrous that only the elderly, who have witnessed a lifetime of astonishments, would ever accept it as true.

Unquestionably, Lala sees herself as a present-day Scheherazade, and *Caramelo* is her *Thousand and One Nights*. The plot is rather unremarkable: a father's extramarital affairs, his accidental conscription of a relative; a mother's endless rages, the arts of upholstery and, more important, of rebozo-making; food and vacations and more food. The rebozo is the traditional Mexican shawl made in a custom that harks back to Andalusia. *Caramelo* means "caramel." It is also a striped type of rebozo. In Cisneros's



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novel it is a leitmotif across generations and object-cum-allegory that pushes toward the conclusion of the narrative.

Cisneros's talent for succinct, impressionistic imagery is well recognized. The stories in the collection *Woman Hollering Creek*, as well as those in *The House on Mango Street*, which is barely 100 pages long, are all brief. They are also intense, compression being one of her hallmarks. To read a 440-page volume by Cisneros, then, is a shocker. Somehow, in the sweeping chronicle that covers more than a century of history, she manages to remain concise. *Caramelo* is composed of chapters so condensed, so meteoric, they feel like snapshots arranged in a family album. Symptomatically, the book concludes with an eccentric chronology that starts with Hernán Cortés and Moctezuma and ends with the canonization of Juan Diego in Mexico City by Pope John Paul II, followed by the death of silver-screen goddess María Félix and a reference to the fact that her funeral cortege caused pandemonium. As Lala struggles to understand herself and her family tree through profiles of her parents and grandparents, it is evident that what she is after—and what Cisneros is driving toward, it appears—is a need to find the foundation of her culture. The Spanglish term *rootas* is apt: It is at once roots and routes.

Frequently, *Caramelo* includes footnotes like the one quoted above. Toward the midpoint of the story, as Lala looks back into her family past to offer the tale of her grandparents, one of her grandmothers, impatient with the tone of the tale, attempts to take control of the material. Lala is forced to negotiate with her. Are the footnotes a way to show that the author, Sandra Cisneros, is also a usurping power? In the end, the reader might ask, Whose story is this: Lala's? Her grandmother's? The family's? Or is it the author's, and hers alone? Postmodern play aside, the novel is a semi-autobiographical *crónica*: Like Sandra, Lala is her father's *favorita*, she lives in Chicago and San Antonio, she travels to Mexico City, etc. In the end, of course, who cares who is the one in narrative control?

The book's alternate title is *Puro Cuento*, an expression in south-of-the-Rio-Grande Spanish that means simultaneously "only stories" and "untruthful tales." Just as we read the conclusion, we come to the realization that Lala's journey—her identity—is made of pure blah-blah-blah. Everyone around her talks, talks, talks, and she does too. Talking (in Yiddish, or perhaps Yinglish: schmoozing) is at once

the characters' *joie de vivre* and their *raison d'être*. These French terms might seem clichéd, but *Caramelo* is about clichés, about the art and act of turning them into truth. Lala herself reaches that conclusion:

And I realize with all the noise called "talking" in my house, that talking that is nothing but talking, that is so much a part of my house and my past and myself you can't hear it as several conversations, but as one roar like the roar inside a shell, I realize then that this is my life, with its dragon arabesques of voices and lives intertwined, rushing like a Ganges, irrevocable and wild, carrying away everything in reach, whole villages, pigs, shoes, coffeepots, and that little basket inside the coffeepot that Mother always loses each morning and has to turn the kitchen upside down looking for until someone thinks to look in the garbage. Names, dates, a person, a spoon, the wing tips my father buys at Maxwell Street and before that in Mexico City, the voice that gasped from that hole in the chest of the Little Grandfather, the great-grandfather who stank like a shipyard from dyeing *rebozos* black all day, the car trips to Mexico and Acapulco, *refresco* Lulú soda pop, *taquitos de canasta* hot and sweating from a basket, your name on a grain of rice... All, all, all of this, and me shutting the noise out with my brain as if it's a film and the sound has gone off, their mouths moving like snails against the glass of an aquarium.

It is at this level that *Caramelo* is most memorable. If nothing else, its inventive, irreverent use of the English language is something to reckon with. The Reyes family goes back and forth from Spanish to English. They also live in translation, so to speak. Hear them talk, and you'll be mesmerized by the way they think in one language but use another:

The old proverb was true. Spanish was the language to speak to God and English the language to talk to dogs. But father worked for the dogs, and if they barked he had to know how to bark back. Father sent away for the *Inglés Sin Stress* home course in English. He practiced, when speaking to his boss,—*Gud mórning, ser.* Or meeting a woman,—*Jáu du iú du?* If asked how he was coming along with his English lessons,—*veri uel, zanc iú.*

In her delivery of the English style, Cisneros infuses the language with a flair that is enlightening. "*Vamos al Más-güel*," a character states when announcing a trip to church on Maxwell Street. Or "May I

trouble you to ask for what time is?" states one character, marked by the Spanish, *¿Puedo molestarlo con preguntar qué hora es?* These automatic translations mark the entire volume. They made me think of the best parts of Jonathan Safran Foer's ingenious yet unsatisfying *Everything Is Illuminated*: loose renditions, in neither Spanish nor English, and yet both at the same time. Throughout *Caramelo*, Cisneros also invents a system of dialogue that borrows from the Spanish. Rather than use the customary quotations, she uses dashes. The strategy might seem at first confusing, even clumsy, but it ultimately enables her to frame the Reyes family in a linguistic context that stands on its own. This is an achievement, for, more than anything else, *son lo quer dicen y cómo es que lo dice*: They are what they say and how they say it.

This, in short, is a work that displays maturity. Whereas *The House on Mango Street* was more about form than content and underdeveloped in approach to character, *Caramelo* is brave, kaleidoscopic and ambitious. Its length allows Cisneros to move in different directions at once, and to bring life to her creatures. These creatures do not always feel well-rounded, nor are they invariably interesting. But the effort that has gone into modeling them is a leap from *Mango Street*, and also from the concerns of an earlier group of Chicano writers who used the family saga. The *oeuvres* of Tomás Rivera, Rolando Hinojosa and Rudolfo Anaya are characterized by an attachment to the soil that is decisive. The genealogical epic in their work is also infused by a type of folklore, in the case of Anaya, that is found in religious rites and legends. Rivera's *And the Earth Did Not Devour Him* is a series of interrelated vignettes about migrant life in Texas. These writers were succeeded by a generation defined by the civil rights era, particularly by the Chicano movement. Their tone was belligerent, their work a journey of self-definition in political terms—equality, justice and affirmation—and the literature they produced, at least in its early stages, was in the form of protest. A few of these authors moved on to a more introspective mood, but their activism still defines them. Cisneros inherited from them her confrontational ethos, but her connections to *los Unaited Estaits* are more abstractly put forth in her work.

In *Caramelo* her explorations of the labyrinthine dialogue between the United States and Mexico are sophisticated. They champion an erasing of borders, even as the border, in and of itself, is on its way to becoming a mere totemic barrier. Cisneros,



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SOMETHING TO BE *true*, DOES THAT MAKE IT
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like Poniatowska, is always ideological. But politics per se were relatively absent in her previous fiction, and in *Caramelo* they emerge in the form of reflections on America and, even more instructively, in comments on the precariousness of intraethnic relations. She sprinkles her narrative with sharp, arresting comments on Mexicans north and Chicanos south of *la frontera*: "Something happened when they crossed the border," Cisneros writes. "Instead of being treated like the royalty they were, they were after all Mexicans, they were treated like Mexicans.... In the neighborhoods she could afford, [Lala's grandmother] couldn't stand being associated with these low-class Mexicans, but in the neighborhoods she couldn't, her neighbors couldn't stand being associated with her." Elsewhere, her father, always ranting and raving about Chicanos, described them as "*exagerados, vulgarones, zoot-suited, wild-talking, mota-smoking,*

forgot-they-were-Mexican Mexicans."

What does a single novel teach? Everything and nothing. *Caramelo* does not wean us from the genealogical tyranny that has become endemic in Latino letters. It is occasionally self-indulgent and does not always investigate archetypes under the freshest light. It does, however, present an opportunity to rethink the marriages of literature and society and of language and the novel in Latino letters. To what extent does pop culture replace individual memory? And what is the fate of English in our hands? Cisneros, by surfing on the obsessions that define her own generation, challenges us to go beyond. Through verbal ingenuity, through the unrepentant border-crossing of her imagination, her novel is as much Mexican as it is American. Might literature like *Caramelo* make Poniatowska's distinction between Chicana and Mexicana vanish into thin air? ■

FILMS

The Eastern Front

STUART KLAWS

FILMS OF THE PRESENT CONFLICT

If Elia Suleiman's face were a cartoon, then the single short, white brush stroke dabbed into his black hair would perhaps be the beginning of a thought balloon, perpetually forming above the left eyebrow. One after another, ideas pop loose from that creased forehead and float through his new movie, *Divine Intervention*.

His image of his hometown, Nazareth: the place where Santa Claus got chased down and killed. His picture of his father, late in life: a man who sits at the kitchen table, endlessly sorting a pile of mail. His notion of Palestinian romance under Israeli rule: a rendezvous at a highway checkpoint, where lovers separated by the Green Line meet in a car for an orgy of handholding. His metaphor for freedom: a balloon decorated with a life-size drawing of Yasir Arafat's head, released from the West Bank to drift over Jerusalem.

Like a silent comedy—like Suleiman's 1996 debut feature, *Chronicle of a Disappearance*—*Divine Intervention* is made up of an expertly timed series of such wordless, deadpan scenes. They make you recall that a gag is something that either incites laughter or else stifles speech. Not that the characters in *Divine Intervention* are entirely mute. The father (Nayef Fahoum Daher) can let loose an obscene, ear-scorching tirade

against his neighbors in Nazareth, all the while waving a friendly good morning to each; an Israeli soldier at the checkpoint can decide to act like the emcee of an insane game show, in which Palestinian contestants must follow whatever instructions he shouts through a bullhorn. Language usually hurts in *Divine Intervention*. For laughter, and imagination, and maybe even hope, Suleiman needs to keep quiet, even though his silence is heavy with longing.

You will notice that his face seems older than its 42 years—older than the face of an American look-alike and contemporary, such as Robert Downey Jr.—with the jowls softening below the unmoving soft lips, the liquid eyes starting to droop beneath that hyperactive expanse of forehead. It must weigh on the flesh, to be a real Palestinian but have only a potential Palestine. Certainly a weight of some kind has brought down his father, who's come to lie in a hospital ward. (Of course, in a Palestinian hospital,

everybody smokes, doctors included. This, at least, you can't blame on the Israelis.) And yet the smooth-faced love of E.S.'s life—the wonderworking woman (Manal Khader), the handholder—looks so fine that soldiers stand dumbfounded at the roadblock, helpless to stop her legs from scissoring past in a white Paris dress.

That's how E.S. imagines her, anyway. As he did before, in *Chronicle of a Disappearance*, Suleiman has claimed the movie's sadness and slapstick for himself, while making a woman responsible for all its beauty, vitality, worldly wisdom and effective political resistance. I assume he knows this choice is old-fashioned and romantic, in a Chaplinesque way. Out of love for Chaplin, who knew something about dispossessed people and what movies might do for them, I'm willing to play along—especially since the coolly self-assured Khader actually carries off the role.

The scene in which I hesitate to play along is the one where Khader turns into a levitating ninja, who strikes down a squad of Israeli soldiers with a magical barrage of stones. Yes, it's another of E.S.'s fantasies; yes, he's entitled to it; and yes, it brings to a new height the contrast between Khader's buoyancy and the men's heaviness. But when I think of how many Palestinian kids have been killed or maimed while throwing stones, when I think of how little the Palestinians have won through such flailings, I feel that this scene, alone among the fantasies of *Divine Intervention*, descends to the polemical and, worse, to intellectual dandyism.

But that's one scene. As for the rest: *Divine Intervention* is a brilliant merger of poignancy and absurdity, humor and outrage, made by one of the most extraordinary writer-actor-directors in contemporary film. It's the work of someone whose pained thoughts have burst loose from his forehead, only to be pinned down again as the yellow cards of a scenario writer; someone who nevertheless has learned he can shuffle those cards at will, or even tear them up, and so bring forth surprises. Maybe a lost father can come back; maybe love can end in something better than craziness. Such artistic reworkings of the yellow cards may not be truly godlike; but for anyone who watches *Divine Intervention*, they offer a release that's like the first buoyant possibility of freedom.

While *Divine Intervention* enjoys its US theatrical premiere at the Angelika Film Center in New York, two remarkable documentaries about the Palestinians and the Israelis are on view down the street at Film Forum. *The Settlers*, Ruth



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Walk's intimate profile of the Orthodox Jews in Hebron, and *Close, Closed, Closure*, Ram Loevy's journey into the "prison with one million inmates" that is the Gaza Strip, are on view through January 28.

The Settlers takes us into the kitchens and living rooms of the Jewish women of Tel Rumeidah, a cluster of trailer homes established in 1984 on the presumed site of biblical Hebron. Through Walk, whose single biggest achievement in this film was to have gained the confidence of these women, we enter into conversation with Brucha, the mother of twelve, and Naomi, the mother of seven. We see them go about their daily tasks, such as bringing instant coffee to the soldiers who guard their enclave; we watch them pray, or take an art class, or go to a demonstration. And we listen as Brucha praises the beautiful landscape of Hebron: "Too bad it's full of Arabs."

With exemplary restraint, Walk allows these women to present themselves as they feel they should be seen—that is, as normal in their own terms. Out of this comes the fascination of *The Settlers*. What is normal about keeping tens of thousands of your fellow citizens under military lockdown, while you celebrate one of your festivals in the streets? What is normal about a religious shrine, the Tomb of the Patriarchs, that's lit up and defended like a maximum-security prison, or about a city where loudspeakers are continually deployed as weapons? Although Walk is careful not to impose any judgments on her subjects, it's safe to say that you and I will think their lives surreal. And yet, having been drawn in by the sweetness and candor of their manner, by the harmlessness of most of their doings, we may come to understand why these women feel as they do. We might even smile tolerantly at them—until they point out the bullet holes in a child's bedroom, or speak again about clearing out their neighbors.

In Loevy's *Close, Closed, Closure*, the focus shifts from the West Bank to the Gaza Strip, from Israelis to Palestinians. As it does so, an element of self-consciousness enters the picture, with Loevy adding to his images a dryly embittered voiceover narration. He shows us Palestinian workers, returning from their labors in Israel with the goods they have bought, "carrying part of their salaries on their shoulders." He takes us into a once-bustling truck depot, moribund now that the second intifada has begun. He speaks with the parents of a young boy, a double amputee, who had needed to get to a hospital in Israel but was turned back at the crossing. "I'm not sure you should be in our house now," his mother

tells Loevy. "I don't know that I can talk to you anymore." Meanwhile, just across the border in Israel, a few peace activists carry on with their weekly demonstration—"far from the centers of power," Loevy says on the soundtrack, "but right where the usual arguments can be held."

Let's at least have some unusual arguments. Films such as Walk's and Loevy's don't offer any solutions—they don't even hold out hope—but they do bring us face to face with various people we might not otherwise listen to. Think of these films as the beginning of conversations, as breaks within normality. They're sorely needed.

Short Takes: While we're on the subject of Jewish homelands, let me recommend Yale Strom's terrific new documentary, *L'Chayim, Comrade Stalin!* It's the story of Birobidzhan, capital of what used to be the Soviet Union's Jewish Autonomous Region. Before I saw the film, I knew that Birobidzhan had been built with considerable help from leftist, anti-Zionist Americans, and that it was officially established in 1934 as a dumping ground for the Soviet Union's unalterably "bourgeois" Jews. How could I not have realized that Jews still live in Birobidzhan, way out in the farthest reaches of Siberia? Why didn't it occur to me that they still might have their Yiddish-language school and their museum, and that they might even be experiencing a religious revival? Assembled with musical deftness from archival sources and present-day footage, *L'Chayim, Comrade Stalin!* is a polyphonic film étude about cruelly betrayed ideals and an amazingly persistent culture.

Also of note: the hourlong video documentary *Hidden Wars of Desert Storm*, made in 2000 by Audrey Brohy and Gerard Ungerman, which New York's Anthology Film Archives has had the good sense to bring back for a brief run through January 26. Piecing together well-established information that is available in public sources but often overlooked, Brohy and Ungerman argue that the first Bush Administration invented the threat of an Iraqi invasion of Saudi Arabia—and so pursued the Gulf War—for the purpose of establishing a military base in the region. Among the consequences: the strengthening of Saddam Hussein's regime and the immiseration of Iraq, as economic sanctions deprived every group but the army of basic resources. In tone, the video is mercifully nonconspiratorial; in style, it's free of rhetorical cheese. If you're interested but can't get to Anthology Film Archives, you can learn more by visiting www.arabfilm.com.



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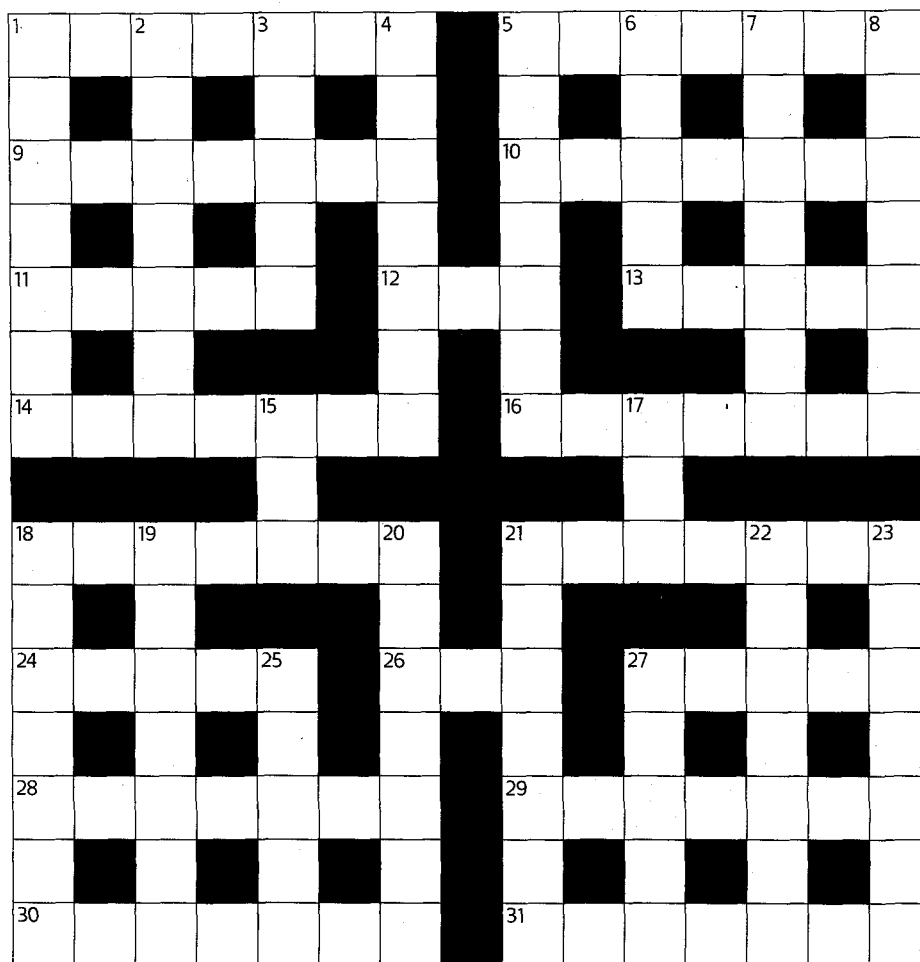
FRANK W. LEWIS

ACROSS

- 1 and 5 The changeable types might do the first with hands in January and the next with coffee. (4,3,3,4)
- 9 A spell of this as an alternate for all the baseball team except the pitcher. (7)
- 10 Put in the office what a British artist adds to his name, like one who made a killer of her kin. (7)
- 11 The physician has a tool which might do something for a lazy tongue. (5)
- 12 See 15 down
- 13 See 4 down
- 14 Describing a dandy way to dress? Ignited, the effect of the sun comes back to your head. (7)
- 16 Burst open inside his cellar, it appears. (7)
- 18 A portion comes back to each catcher who is familiar with the game. (7)
- 21 Train, as one might say, a snake to be one? (7)
- 24, 26 and 27 It might describe a returning mood. (They used to think you would fall off at it.) (3,2,3,5)
- 28 What's the point in each sort ending in a way to secure something? (7)
- 29 Possibly a mere change with a knotted tie will make one a very solitary sort. (7)
- 30 Perhaps claimed to be descriptive of the healing profession. (7)
- 31 What the returning baseball player does, perhaps, and finally quits. (7)

DOWN

- 1 and 18 A ship may be said to be like a hippy woman—or one with a wide smile. (5,2,3,4)
- 2 Were Adam and Eve from the garden, like actors on the road? (7)
- 3 Finally 1 across with the Spanish is a place to stay. (5)
- 4 and 13 across What meets hearty approval is always in your old night arrangement... (3,4,5)
- 5 ...as the morning is concluded (and changed for the better). (7)
- 6 *The Bohemian Girl* has one who dreamt she did this in certain halls. (5)



- 7 Costumes made suitable after going in? On the contrary! (7)
- 8 What a bummer having a broken leg! Naturally, tailed after this is untidy fashion! (Or, put it in bed!) (7)
- 15 and 12 across Finish off the little devil on purpose? (6)
- 17 The question in the air is where did you get that? (3)
- 18 See 1 down
- 19 Put two and two together about Mussolini, and you show how you brought forward the evidence. (7)
- 20 Tied in with vitamin A, can get in the middle of a villainous role. (7)
- 21 If a lady, does she still call her mate "Buck"? (3,4)
- 22 Ready to pounce when the rule coming up has no point with royalty. (7)
- 23 Put a bandage on again, if you want to right wrong. (7)
- 25 Do you spend this in not quite all of the country? (5)
- 27 Might this be called the habit of one whose husband is late? (5)

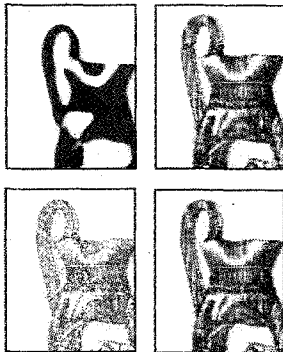
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2878

G	A	N	G	L	I	O	N	B	R	A	W	N	Y			
E	O	O	R					E	A							
N	O	T	H	I	N	G		C	Z	A	R	I	N	A		
I	I	T	A					H	L	K	R					
U	N	C	L	E	A	N		A	N	T	H	I	L	L		
S	E	R	G					M	O	K	I					
				D	I	S	P	R	O	P	O	R	T	I	O	N
S								I	A							G
C	O	N	D	E	M	N	A	T	I	O	N	S				
A	E	M	D					T	X	E		C				
L	E	G	I	B	L	E		H	E	A	V	E	T	O		
L	A	R	R					E	L	P		R				
O	P	T	I	O	N	S		B	R	A	V	A	D	O		
P	E	I						I	T	G		N				
S	A	D	D	L	E			E	T	C	E	T	E	R	A	

**100% No Load
IRA Transfers**

America's #1 Equity Income Fund

For the five years ending December 31, 2002, the Parnassus Equity Income Fund had a total return higher than all of the 136 equity income funds followed by Lipper.* During that period, Parnassus had a total return of 53.60% compared to 0.15% for the average equity income fund.



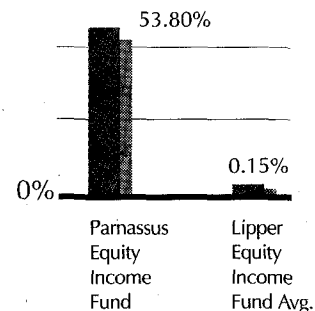
That translates into an average annual return of 8.96% for Parnassus compared to 0.03% for the average equity income fund followed by Lipper. Just as important, our record has been consistent – the Fund has outperformed the S&P 500 for the past four years in a row.

Parnassus invests in companies that treat their employees well, provide equal employment opportunity, invest in their communities and recognize that environmental protection makes economic sense. We think you'll be proud to own the companies in our portfolio.

If you like our investment philosophy and want solid performance including a yield from dividend-paying stocks, we would like to have you as a shareholder. When you call, ask for a prospectus which contains more complete information including management fees and expenses. Review this material carefully before investing. You can also ask for a semiannual report. People tell us that our shareholder reports are the best in the mutual fund industry.

Parnassus vs. Competitors

Total Returns from 12/31/97
through 12/31/02



Average Annual Total Returns
for the periods ending 12/31/02

	Parnassus Equity Income Fund	Lipper Equity Income Fund Avg.
1 Year	-3.69%	-16.33%
3 Years	4.05	-4.91
5 Years	8.96	0.03
10 Years	11.01	8.37

Past performance is no guarantee of future results. Investment return and principal will fluctuate so that an investor's shares, when redeemed, may be worth more or less than their original cost.

THE PARNASSUS EQUITY INCOME FUND

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Social Responsibility & Investment Performance

*For periods ending 12/31/02, the Parnassus Equity Income Fund placed #2 of 199 equity income funds, #9 of 166 funds, #1 of 136 funds and #4 of 48 funds, respectively for the one, three, five and ten-year periods.